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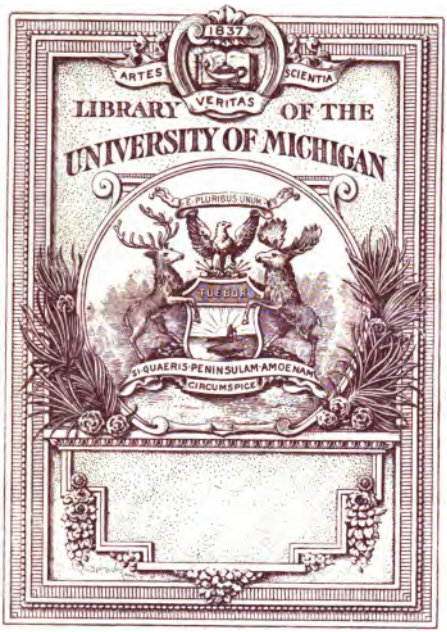
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8133

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS FROM AUGUSTUS to CONSTANTINE.

By Mr. CREVIER, *Professor of Rhetoric, in the College of Beauvais.*

Translated from the FRENCH,

By JOHN MILLS, Esq;

VOL. I.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Maps, Medals, Gems, and other Copper Plates.

LONDON,

Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON, in *Ludgate-street.*

MDCCLV.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT,

EARL of HOLDERNESSE,

ONE OF

HIS MAJESTY's

PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE ſubject of the following work is ſuch, that it could not be inſcribed to any one, ſo properly,

A as

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as to a Miniſter, whoſe abilities as a Stateſman, and whoſe virtues as a Man, might ſuffer nothing from a parallel between thoſe poſſeſſed by him, and thoſe which have adorned any character throughout theſe volumes. They contain, indeed, the hiſtory of a people, ſo degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, that they may be compared to a ſailor's chart, the principal uſe of which is, to guide us right, by ſhewing us what we ought to avoid. But, wherever ſome illuſtrious inſtance of Roman virtue, and true patriotiſm, ſhines forth, we are to look upon that, as the propitious ray of ſome friendly beacon, which points out our right

courſe,

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courſe, and directs us to ſecurity and happineſs.

Were I to enter into any ſort of compariſon between the times here treated of, and the preſent days, I ſhould be as uſeleſly employed, to every body, and as impertinently in regard to your Lordſhip, as he who ſhould ſet about proving the fatal effects of abſolute dominion, and the bleſſings of a free conſtitution. It is our happineſs to live in an age, and country, where our knowledge of the former is only to be procured by diſtant inquiries; and it is our farther happineſs, that we may reaſonably promiſe to ourſelves, the continuance of thoſe bleſſings we

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now enjoy, from the wiſdom and juſtice of our Sovereign, and the ſteadineſs and activity of his Miniſters, who ſtudy to promote his glory, and their country's good.

The zeal and aſſiduity, which your Lordſhip employs in executing theſe noble purpoſes, cannot fail to endear You to both. I will be free to ſay, they have not failed. And I cannot but congratulate my countrymen, when I behold a Nobleman, formed to refine our manners, and improve our taſte, after having applied himſelf to ſeverer ſtudies, and the management of affairs, become a ſupport of that country, of which he was before an ornament.

The

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The protection of arts, my Lord, and the encouragement of literature, has always been the buſineſs of good Miniſters, who, like yourſelf, have been happy in a ſucceſsful cultivation of them, in themſelves; and the patronage which You have ſo generouſly extended to me, I hope will be a proof of your ready diſpoſition to advance them, even in the leaſt degree.

Encomiums upon your Lordſhip's ſkill, and diligence, in executing the functions of your high office, upon your dexterous management of perverſe allies, or inſidious foes, are above me to attempt, and beneath your Lordſhip

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ſhip to receive from my hands. Neither dare I venture (eſpecially to your Lordſhip) a ſketch of thoſe qualifications, that render You amiable, as a Man; diſtinguiſhed, as a Scholar; and elegant, as a Courtier: But give me leave to ſay, they are ſo various and extenſive, as muſt greatly enhance the merit of devoting ſo much of your time to the ſervice of your country, when your Lordſhip is poſſeſſed of all thoſe accompliſhments which enliven converſation, embelliſh ſociety, and make retirement agreeable. It was ſaid of the Second Scipio, and the application can never be more properly made, than to your Lordſhip, **Neque*

* Velleius Paterculus, Lib. i. §. 13.

enim

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enim quiſquam elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit.

Whatever great qualities might at firſt excite my ambition to prefix your Lordſhip's name to theſe volumes, I am now to offer them as an humble tribute of thankfulneſs, that You have deigned to gratify it; and ſhall rather indulge myſelf in the ſilent admiration of that affability, that gentleneſs of temper, and ſweetneſs of manners, which are known to all who approach You, and that winning condeſcenſion which is experienced by all who are ſubordinate to you, than purſue the unequal taſk of celebrating thoſe talents,

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lents, which your exalted ſtation renders conſpicuous to every body.

I am,

MY LORD,

With profound Reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged,

and devoted Servant,

London,
Feb. 20, 1755.

John Mills.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING finiſhed the work began by M. ROLLIN, and carried the Roman Hiſtory down to the battle of Actium, I think I cannot well make a better uſe of the leiſure to which a bad ſtate of health, worn out by the fatigue of public inſtruction, reduces me, than to treat in the manner of which my dear and much honoured Maſter has ſet me a model, the Hiſtory of the Emperors; it being a natural continuation of that which I have juſt ended. Inclination prompts, and the exhortations of many illuſtrious perſons encourage me. I yield the more readily to this double motive, as I ſee no other way by which I can be any longer equally uſeful to ſociety.

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If I am wrong in flattering myſelf, that what I here preſent the public may be of ſome ſervice, it muſt be owing to the workman's fault, and not to want of materials, the ſubject itſelf affording abundantly wholeſome leſſons for men of every rank and ſtation. Such is the merit and excellence of Hiſtory in the opinion of all the world; and Plutarch was ſo convinced of it, that he looked on that particular knowledge and ſtudy as the occupation the moſt worthy a philoſophic mind. Fully ſatisfied, that Hiſtory is the beſt ſchool to form either the judgment or the morals, he ſays we abuſe, degrade, and vilify the faculty we are endowed with of perceiving and knowing, when we apply it to other objects; and on this occaſion he mentions a remarkable ſaying of Cæſar.

Plut. in the Preface to his Life of Pericles.

Some ſtrangers were careſſing and making much of little dogs and monkies in Cæſar's preſence: He aſked them whether in their country the women did not bear children? Giving them to underſtand how much they were to blame to waſte, on beaſts, that fund of ſenſibility and tenderneſs which nature

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ture has made our hearts ſuſceptible of, and which is due to our fellow-creatures. Plutarch, carrying this thought ſtill farther *, condemns equally thoſe who direct the paſſion we naturally have to learn, towards empty trifles, and not to uſeful objects; and thoſe objects of real uſe, according to him are, Virtuous Actions, which at the ſame time that they charm us by the radiancy of their beauty, pleaſingly induce and lead us to an imitation of them.

This zeal of imitation is the proper effect of virtue. In other things we often admire the art, without wiſhing to reſemble the artiſt. Never, ſays Plutarch, did a youth, of a truly noble and exalted frame of mind, on ſeeing the Jupiter of Phidias, or on reading the Odes of Anacreon, wiſh to rival either the ſculptor or the poet. But when virtue is the object, a great and generous ſoul is not content barely to admire the deed, but is fired with a deſire of imitation.

* Ἆρ ἔν ἐπὶ φιλομαθές τι κεκτηται καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φυσεῖ, λόγον ἔχω ψέγειν, τὰς καλαχρωμένας τούτῳ πρὸς τὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἄξια σπουδῆς ἀκούσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων παραμελεῖσθαι ταῦτα δ' ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔργοις, ἃ καὶ ζῆλόν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἄγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν. *Plut.*

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These reflections were what induced Plutarch to write the Lives of Great Men; and they are applicable to all Historical Compositions, in which it is intended to shew the characters and manners of those that make their appearance in them.

I am sensible of the objection that may be made here to the nature of the events that seem to prevail in the History I am about to write. I may be said to devote my pen to descriptions, not of virtue, but of vice, and of vice carried to its greatest excess under a TIBERIUS, a CALIGULA, and a NERO.

To this I might easily reply, that vice itself, when drawn in the odious colours that properly belong to it, becomes a lesson of virtue; and I may carry this reflection farther elsewhere. I might likewise answer, that vice does not prevail throughout the whole of the work I have undertaken. Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, are models worthy to be proposed to the best of Princes. The second Century of the Roman Empire, reckoning from Nerva down to Marcus

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cus Aurelius, affords ſuch a ſeries of good Emperors as it were not eaſy to match in any hiſtory whatever. In ſhort, under the worſt of them, there ſtill were men whoſe tranſcendent virtue ſeemed to ſhine the brighter by the contraſt: Under Tiberius there was a Germanicus; under Nero a Thraſea; and under Domitian an Agricola. I muſt add, that Chriſtianity, born under Auguſtus, gaining ſtrength under his ſucceſſors, and aſcending the throne with Conſtantine, being on many occaſions linked with the affairs of the Empire, affords an opportunity of ſanctifying, now and then, this work, by virtues of a ſuperior order, and capable not only to remove the ſcandal of vice, but to put to the bluſh all that is but merely human virtue.

It is on this plan, and with theſe views, that I purpoſe to write the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors from Auguſtus to Conſtantine. The taſk is ſuch as I may reaſonably hope to perform. A more extenſive work might terrify me: And I frankly own, that hitherto my ſtudies

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have not been ſo much directed towards what relates to the lower Empire. I ſhall confine them within theſe bounds, which I ſhall treat with all the care and application I am maſter of; and beg the Reader will be pleaſed to pardon ſuch faults as will without doubt eſcape me, in favour of my good intent, and deſire to ſerve him.

LIST

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LIST of the NAMES of CONSULS, and YEARS included in this Volume.

C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus V.	A. R. 723.
Sex. Apuleius.	Bef. C. 29.
C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus VI.	A. R. 724.
M. Agrippa II.	Bef. C. 28.
C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus VII.	A. R. 725.
M. Agrippa III.	Bef. C. 27.
Imp. C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus Auguſtus VIII.	A. R. 726.
T. Statilius Taurus.	Bef. C. 26.
Imp. C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus Auguſtus IX.	A. R. 727.
M. Junius Silanus.	Bef. C. 25.
Imp. C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus Auguſtus X.	A. R. 728.
C. Norbanus Flaccus.	Bef. C. 24.
Imp. C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus Auguſtus XI.	A. R. 729.
A. Terentius Varro.	Bef. C. 23.

And after the death or abdication of the latter,

Cn, Calpurnius Piſo.	
M. Claudius Marcellus Æſerninus.	A. R. 730.
L. Arruntius.	Bef. C. 22.
M. Lollius.	A. R. 73 .
Q. Æmilius Lepidus.	Bef. C. 21.

M.

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M. Apuleius.	A. R. 732.
P. Silius Nerva.	Bef. C. 20.
C. Sentius Saturninus.	A. R. 733.
Q. Lucretius.	Bef. C. 19.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 734.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	Bef. C. 18.
C. Furnius.	A. R. 735.
C. Junius Silanus.	Bef. C. 17.
L. Domitius Athenobarbus.	A. R. 736.
P. Cornelius Scipio.	Bef. C. 16.
M. Livius Druſus Libo.	A. R. 737.
L. Calpurnius Piſo.	Bef. C. 15.
M. Licinius Craſſus.	A. R. 738.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur.	Bef. C. 14.
Ti. Claudius Nero.	A. R. 739.
P. Quintilius Varus.	Bef. C. 13.
M. Valerius Meſſala Barbatus.	A. R. 740.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius.	Bef. C. 12.
Q. Ælius Tubero.	A. R. 741.
Paulus Fabius Maximus.	Bef. C. 11.
Julus Antonius.	A. R. 742.
Q. Fabius Maximus.	Bef. C. 10.
Nero Claudius Druſus.	A. R. 743.
T. Quintius Criſpinus.	Bef. C. 9.
C. Aſinius Gallus.	A. R. 744.
C. Marcius Cenſorinus.	Bef. C. 8.
Ti. Claudius Nero II.	A. R. 745.
Cn. Calpurnius Piſo.	Bef. C. 7.

P.

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P. Lælius Balbus.	A. R. 746.
C. Antiſtius Vetus.	Bef. C. 6.
Imp. C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus Auguſtus XII.	A. R. 747.
L. Cornelius Sulla.	Bef. C. 5.
C. Calviſius Sabinus	A. R. 748.
L. Paſſienus Rufus	Bef. C. 4.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 749.
M. Valerius Meſſalinus.	Bef. C. 3.
Imp. C. Julius Cæſar Octavianus Auguſtus XIII.	A. R. 750.
C. Caninius Gallus.	Bef. C. 2.
Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus.	A. R. 751.
L. Calpurnius Piſo.	Bef. C. 1.
C. Julius Cæſar.	A. R. 752.
L. Æmilius Paulus.	A. C. 1.
P. Vinicius.	A. R. 753.
P. Alfenus Varus.	A. C. 2.
L. Ælius Lamia.	A. R. 754.
M. Servilius.	A. C. 3.
Sex. Ælius Catus.	A. R. 755.
C. Sentius Saturninus.	A. C. 4.
Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus.	A. R. 756.
L. Valerius Meſſala Voluſus.	A. C. 5.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	A. R. 757.
L. Arruntius.	A. C. 6.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.	A. R. 758.
A. Licinius Nerva Silianus.	A. C. 7.

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M. Furius Camillus.	A. R. 759.
Sex. Nonius Quintilianus.	A. C. 8.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.	A. R. 760.
C. Poppæus Sabinus.	A. C. 9.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.	A. R. 761.
C. Junius Silanus.	A. C. 10.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	A. R. 762.
T. Statilius Taurus.	A. C. 11.
Germanicus Cæſar.	A. R. 763.
C. Fonteius Capito.	A. C. 12.
L. Munatius Plancus.	A. R. 764.
C. Silius.	A. C. 13.
Sex. Pompeius.	A. R. 765.
Sex. Apuleius.	A. C. 14.

HISTORY

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS

From AUGUSTUS to CONSTANTINE.

BOOK I.

SECT. I.

OCTAVIUS purposes to legitimate his power. With this view he feigns a desire to abdicate. He consults Agrippa and Mecænas concerning his abdication. Agrippa advises it. Mecænas dissuades him from it. Octavius declares in favour of Mecænas's opinion. It is hardly probable that Virgil was consulted on this occasion. Octavius endeavours to gain the people's affection. He reviews the Senate, and expels several unworthy members. He takes the title of Prince of the Senate. Other regulations. Octavius's care to keep up the republican forms. He advances Agrippa greatly. Close of the Lustre after 41 Years interruption. Several Senators are assisted by the liberality of Octavius. He gives the administration of the public treasure to ancient Prætors. Public edifices repaired or

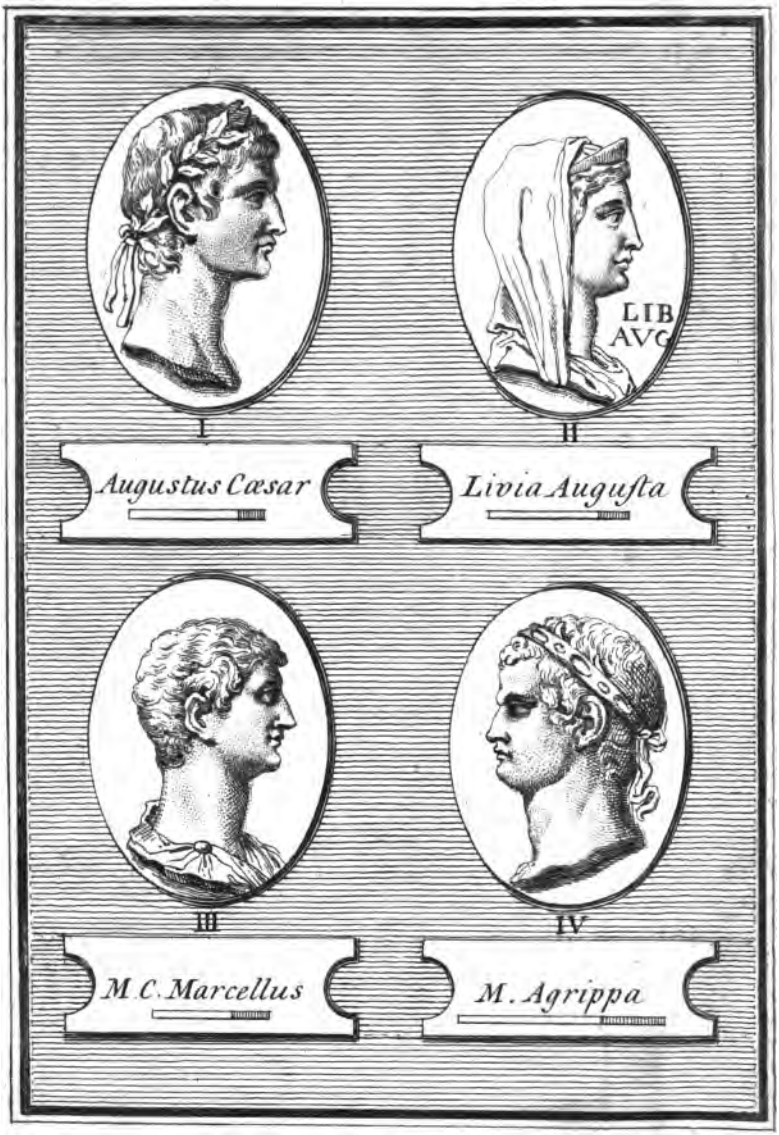
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built. He annuls all acts of the Triumvirate. He declares to the Senate that he abdicates the ſupreme power. The Senators are of different opinions. All agree to oppoſe his abdication. He yields. He divides the Provinces with the Senate. He undertakes the government for ten years only: but renewing it from time to time keeps it all his life. He receives the name of AUGUSTUS. *The change of the Roman Government muſt be dated from the ſeventh conſulſhip of Auguſtus. All titles of power and authority are united in the perſon of Auguſtus. That of* IMPERATOR *or* EMPEROR. *The power of Pro-conſul, and all the prerogatives of Conſul. The power of Tribune. The power of Cenſor. The High Prieſt-hood. He cauſes himſelf to be diſpenſed from obſerving the Laws. The Title of* PATER PATRIÆ, FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, *annexed to that of Emperor. Auguſtus and his Succeſſors were only diſpenſers of the Sovereign power, which itſelf was always radically veſted in the Senate and People. The outward form of Government was preſerved in many things. The ſame Magiſtracies. New Offices created in order to admit a greater number of Perſons into ſome ſhare of the public power. Præfect of Rome. Ancient Rights preſerved to the Senate. Privy Council or governors of Provinces taken from among the body of Senators. The people's Provinces governed by Pro-conſuls. They were only Civil Magiſtrates. The Provinces in the Emperor's department governed by his Lieutenants, veſted with a military power. Intendants to levy and diſburſe the moneys belonging to the Emperor. The government of the Empe-*

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Ex Museo Florentino.

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rors was monarchical with regard to military, and mixed as to civil affairs. Public Treasure. Emperor's Exchequer. The people preserves under Augustus the right of naming to Employments. Tiberius transfers those Elections to the Senate, which, by that means, represents singly the ancient republic. The happiness the Romans enjoy under Augustus, makes them amends for their loss of liberty. The Provinces are more happy under the new Government. Saying of Augustus concerning Alexander. History becomes more silent. New honours and privileges decreed by the Senate to Augustus.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V.
SEX. APULEIUS.

OCTAVIUS Cæsar, thro' a series of injustice, violence, cruelty, and tyrannical enterprises, at length saw himself master of the whole Roman Empire. His first care had been to take off the defenders of the Republican liberty: the family which had been a sworn enemy to his, the rivals and competitors he had found amongst those of his own party, all were destroyed. No power now remained but what he was in possession of, no Forces but what were obedient to his commands. A.R. 723. bef. C. 29. Octavius purposes to legitimate his power.

This pitch of greatness had cost him too much to acquire, not to be resolved to keep it. But he had no other right to it than force; and was thoroughly sensible how much a title so odious was insufficient in itself, and dangerous in its consequences. Even the proofs of mildness, wisdom, and moderation he had taken care to give, from the time that cruelty had no

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A.R. 723. bef. C. 29. longer appeared neceſſary to him, tho' they might gain him the affection of a great number of Citizens, yet could not remove the blame of uſurpation. However pleaſing he had rendered his government, it ſtill was an unjuſt tyranny, which expoſed him to the hazard of revolts and conſpiracies from all ſuch as ſtill retained any part of the old Roman ſentiments: to ſnatch the command from him, to take away his life, would, by ſuch, have been thought a noble action, and well deſerving from the Republic. Full of theſe reflections, Octavius undertook to render legitimate by the general conſent of the nation, a power whoſe beginning had been unjuſt and iniquitous: and proceeded in the execution of this deſign with a prudence ſo exquiſite as cannot be too carefully remarked.

With this view he feigns a deſire to abdicate.

In the firſt place he judged it was highly proper to feign a deſire to abdicate the authority of government: nor could he avoid it without expoſing himſelf to an imputation of inſincerity. His pretence for taking arms had been to revenge the death of his uncle and adoptive father. That revenge was now fully ſatisfied. Mark Antony's attempts to rival him were ſufficient reaſons for continuing in arms: but Antony was now no more, and all the terms fixed for the duration of the Triumvirate had been long expired. For at leaſt three years paſt Octavius had exerciſed the ſovereign power in virtue only of the conſular magiſtracy, in which he had taken care to be continued.

He conſults Agrippa and Mecænas concerning his abdication. *Suet. Aug.* c. 28. *Dio.* l. 111.

Reſolving then to go through all the ceremonial of a pretended abdication, in order to give it a greater air of ſincerity, he thought proper to

to deliberate on that ſubject with his chief miniſters and intimate confidants, Agrippa and Mecænas. Having brought them together, he ordered them to tell him freely what they thought on ſo nice and important a point. A.R. 723. bef. C. 29. Agrippa adviſes it.

Agrippa, whoſe ſoul was great and noble, declared for abdication as the moſt generous proceeding. He adviſed Octavius to reſtore the ſupreme authority to the Senate and Roman People, agreable to his engagements ſo often contracted with them, and in ſo doing to give them the ſtrongeſt proof of his candor and ſincerity. He added that the ſafety even of his perſon was concerned, and alledged the contrary examples of Sylla and of Cæſar; a compariſon ſufficient to deter any one from thinking ever to maintain the authority of Monarch in Rome. He inſiſted on the impoſſibility of going back if ever Octavius ſhould take ſuch a reſolution, and repreſented his bad ſtate of health unequal to the great fatigue and weight of governing ſo vaſt an Empire. To give his opinion the greater weight, he obſerved, that ſelf-intereſt could not be his motive, ſince it was evident, he had attained the higheſt dignities by the favour of one; whereas under a Republican form of government, he, being a man of no diſtinguiſhed birth, could not but fear his glories would be eclipſed by the more ſhining ones of numbers of the nobility. He ended with adding, that tho' every reaſon ſhould induce Octavius to abdicate, yet it did not follow he ſhould be in a hurry to put it in execution: that on the contrary he ſhould take time to prepare and ſettle proper and neceſſary means, by eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity on a laſting foundation.

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A.R. 723. bef. C. 29. Mecænas diſſuades him from it.

Agrippa's advice was not reliſhed by Mecænas. That miniſter, whoſe peculiar merit was, an uncommon prudence, and quick diſcernment, thought, perhaps with reaſon, the ſcheme of abdicating more brillant than ſolid. He ſaw that an Empire which comprehended the greateſt part of the known world, could not ſubſiſt but under the government of one man: and from his experience during near three-ſcore years of civil wars and ſeditious tumults, he, with the whole thinking part of mankind, was convinced that the frantic madneſs of a mob, and the factions of the Great, expoſed the Republic to continual tempeſts, from which Monarchy alone could be its proper and ſafe ſhelter. And as to Octavius's perſonal ſafety, after the many enemies he had made himſelf by wars and proſcriptions, it was beyond doubt that prudence required him to aſſume the ſupreme authority, as a defence and rampart the more neceſſary as, if a Republican government were once re-eſtabliſhed, ambition having then greater ſcope to exert itſelf, would, in many, be joined to a deſire of revenge; and that all ſuch as ſhould aſpire to the high poſt left vacant by him, would ever conſider him as the firſt obſtacle in their way, which they would ſpare nothing to get rid of.

Sure to enter into the views of him who conſulted him, Mecænas adviſed Octavius not only to keep poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority; but, taking that for granted, proceeded to trace out a plan of government. Dion, on this occaſion makes Mecænas ſay things quite improbable in diſcourſe, and much more fitting a written memorial: and even then there are

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are ſeveral heads on which I apprehend that * Author has followed the ideas of the times in which he lived, rather than repreſented faithfully the views of the miniſter into whoſe mouth he puts thoſe ſpeeches. I ſhall ſpare my reader the trouble of all thoſe diſcuſſions, and be content to point out from facts, what was the ſyſtem of government Octavius introduced. * A.R. 723. bef. C. 29.

Such were the counſels of Agrippa and Mecænas; counſels as widely different as were the characters of thoſe who gave them. A modern writer obſerves that each ſpoke according to his own particular intereſt. Agrippa, a brave warrior, of conſular Dignity, and judged worthy triumphal honours, would have held the firſt place in a republic. Mecænas, a man of letters, a good writer, and experienced courtier, could not expect to ſhine or make a great figure, but under the protection of a prince who ſhould place an entire confidence in him. This obſervation, ſomewhat malicious, is not ſupported by any ancient authority; and its author may perhaps not be the fitteſt perſon in the world to give it much weight: though a writer of great wit, he is apt to be bold in his criticiſms, is fond of paradoxes, and apparently inclined to praiſe whatever cotemporary Hiſtorians have thought blameable, and to blame what they have praiſed. *L'Abbé de St. Réal.*

Octavius declares in favour of Mecænas's advice.

Octavius was quite reſolved what to do before he aſked his miniſter's opinions; ſo was

* *Lipſius thought ſo too; and Mecænas's diſcourſe ſeems to him intirely the work of Dion, who has deſcribed the plan of government, eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, and with ſome alterations, followed by the Emperors.* Excurſ. ad Tac. Ann. III.

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A. R. 723. bef. C. 29. not at all embarraſſed by the contrariety of their ſentiments; and after thanking them equally for this new proof of their zeal and fidelity in ſpeaking their minds ſo freely, he declared in favour of Mecænas's advice; but at the ſame time, without neglecting any of thoſe precautions he thought moſt proper to wipe off the odium of violence and uſurpation.

It is hardly probable that Virgil was conſulted on this occaſion.

Virgil's great name may be a ſufficient reaſon why I ſhould not omit here that, according to the author of his life, Octavius was deſirous to have that illuſtrious Poet's opinion on a matter concerning which he was in doubt, and that it was by his advice he determined to keep the Empire. I have already obſerved that Octavius never was in doubt on this occaſion; nor can I be induced to think the authority of an obſcure nameleſs writer, who takes it into his head to publiſh his own dreams, ſufficient to perſuade any one that a Poet, ſublime indeed, as a Poet, but unacquainted with affairs of ſtate, ſhould ever have been conſulted by the moſt artful Prince that ever lived, and eſpecially in a thing of ſuch conſequence. Whatever encouragement the maſters of the world are pleaſed to beſtow on talents, and on ſuch as poſſeſs them in an eminent degree, yet they hardly conſult Poets in matters of ſtate.

Octavius endeavours to gain the peoples affection.

Octavius, whoſe maxim was to haſten ſlowly, employed the reſt of his fifth Conſulſhip and the whole of his ſixth, in preparing minds and bringing things into a proper ſituation for the great work he was meditating. Games and ſhews of all ſorts, gifts and generoſities to the people, public buildings to adorn the city, were arts he had began to practiſe ſome years before

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before and continued in these, to make his government the better liked: but his chief study was to restore the Senate to its ancient lustre, by clearing it of a number of improper and unworthy members, who had crept in during the confusion of the Civil Wars, and were a dishonour to the majesty of that august body. He could not take a step more pleasing to the sensible part of men, and such as saw things in their true light: and what is more, whilst he was thus forming a council full of dignity, and able to assist him in the fatigue of government, his main design still remained secret: he might still seem to act in consequence of a desire to abdicate, and to put the Republic in a situation to be able to do without him.

A.R. 723. bef. C. 29.

He reviews the Senate, and expels several unworthy members.

The Senate really wanted a thorough reformation. The dictator Cæsar first lessened its dignity by admitting into it, without distinction of birth, rank, or hardly of country, men, whose sole merit often was, to have been useful to him in the execution of his ambitious projects. The evil increased under the Consulship of Mark Antony. That mercenary Magistrate would sell a place in the Senate to any purchaser that offered; and, as he pretended to act in virtue of Cæsar's memorials, such as became Senators by those methods, were called, out of derision Charonites, or * Senators of Pluto's creation, because they owed their elevation to a dead man. The Triumvirate, that destruction of all laws and order, carried the disorder in this, as in every thing else, to the highest pitch. The number of Senators was increased to above a thousand; and the first Citi-

Plut. Ant. *Suet. Aug.* 35.

* *Orcini.*

zens

A.R. 723. bef. C. 29. zens of the Republic hardly knew themſelves in the midſt of ſuch a crowd of aſſociates ſo unworthy them.

The fault was viſible; but the remedy was neither eaſy, nor without danger. Upwards of four hundred Senators (for Octavius purpoſed, if poſſible, to reduce them to their old number of ſix hundred) were to be diveſted of their dignities, and that juſt at the cloſe of a Civil War; that is to ſay, at a time when mens minds, uſed to intrigues, conſpiracies, violences and murders, were diſpoſed to take fire eaſily, and to carry things to the greateſt extremities.

Octavius thought ſuch a reformation of ſo great importance as to outweigh all fear of danger: in conſequence of which he undertook to draw up a new liſt of the order of the Senate; and proceeded in that work, not as Cenſor, for, I know not for what reaſon, he never took that title, but as Superintendant and Reformer of the Laws and Cuſtoms; a new title, firſt invented for the Dictator Cæſar. To help him in this undertaking, Octavius choſe the faithful and generous Agrippa for his aſſociate: Agrippa zealouſly aſſiſted him in the execution of a plan he had neither adviſed nor approved; and whenever he thought it neceſſary, helped him to the utmoſt to preſerve an authority he had not been able to prevail on him to reſign.

As ſuch an operation could not but be diſagreeable to many, Octavius endeavoured to correct the bitterneſs of it by all the palliatives he could imagine. He began with exhorting ſuch among the Senators as were, from whatever

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ever motive it might be, any ways conſcious of their being improper perſons to ſit in that great aſſembly, to do juſtice to themſelves; and on this bare repreſentation fifty reſigned. Octavius beſtowed great encomiums on this their voluntary retreat, and this firſt ſucceſs enabled him, either by authority or by preſſing ſollicitations, to make a hundred and forty more follow their example. Not one was marked; he even continued to them all ſome honorary privileges of the Senatorial dignity; but with a ſpecial diſtinction in favour of thoſe whoſe modeſty had induced them to reſign without any ſort of conſtraint. A. R. 723. bef. C. 29.

I do not know whether he then carried this reformation beyond what has been juſt ſaid. Dion ſays nothing more, unleſs it be, that he forced one Q. Statilius to renounce the office of Tribune of the people. Very likely the difficulties and danger that might attend making too great a number of malecontents might ſtop him, at a time when it was ſo much his intereſt not to ſour the peoples minds over much. By the extraordinary precautions he took for his own ſafety, we may judge how great he thought the danger. During the whole time he was about this reformation of the ſenate, he never preſided but with a coat of mail under his uſual garment, and ten of the ſtrongeſt Senators, ſuch as he knew to be moſt attached to him, next his perſon; and all that time no one Senator was admitted to an audience of him, till he had been ſearched and examined. We ſhall ſee him twelve years hence ſet about this ſame project again, and carry it fully into execution. *Suet. Aug.* 35.

His

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A.R. 723. Bef. C. 29. He takes the title of Prince of the Senate.

His name was placed at the head of the liſt of Senators, and he took the title of Prince of the Senate: a title without function, but pleaſing, as it called to mind ſome idea of the ancient Republic, of which Octavius affected a reſemblance, whilſt he was deſtroying the reality.

Other regulations.

Notwithſtanding the many members excluded the Senate, the body ſtill remained more numerous than he deſired: but even this conſideration did not hinder him from introducing others, choſen undoubtedly from among the moſt deſerving.

He gave the rank of Conſul to C. Cluvius and C. Furnius, tho' they never had been Conſuls; but they had been ſet down for it, and by circumſtances intervening it had happened that others had enjoyed the dignity at the time they ſhould have had it.

He had created a few years before ſome new Patrician families, in the room of thoſe that had been extinguiſhed by the Civil Wars. Whether it be that he did not think there was enough of them, or that he thought proper to multiply rewards and titles of honour, he this year beſtowed on ſeveral Plebeians the rank of Patrician, which was now no more than an empty decoration.

In ſhort, he put again in force the old laws by which every Senator was forbid going out of Italy without expreſs leave. Sicily only, as being a neighbouring province, and at peace, was excepted from this law.

Such were the regulations which, according to Dion, took place towards the end of Octavius's fifth Conſulſhip, with ſome other events not to be omitted, ſuch as the rebuilding Carthage,

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thage, already mentioned in the hiſtory * of the Republic; the death of Antiochus King of Commagene, who was ſent to Rome and condemned to die for having aſſaſſinated an Ambaſſador, ſent to the Senate by his brother to ſettle the differences that ſubſiſted between them; and Octavius's purchaſe of the little iſland of Capræa, ſo famous for the life Tiberius afterwards led there. A.R. 723. bef. C. 29.

The Conſulſhip was neceſſary to Octavius, that he might ſtill have a title that ſet him at the head of the Republic. He continued himſelf in that dignity for the ſix following years. In his ſixth Conſulſhip, which we are now entering on, he took Agrippa for his Collegue.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus VI.
M. Agrippa II.

NO one ever followed more cloſely than Octavius a ſyſtem of conduct once thought neceſſary to his intereſt. So, as his preſent view was to keep up all the outward appearance of the Republican forms, whilſt he was ſettling himſelf more and more in the poſſeſſion of a monarchical authority, he took care in this his ſixth Conſulſhip to imitate in many things the character of an old Republican Conſul: he ſhared the Faſces with his collegue, and at the year's end, when his office expired, took the uſual oath on that occaſion. A.R. 724. bef. C. 28. Octavius's care to keep up the Republican forms.

One part of his ſecret plan was to advance Agrippa ſo that he might be a ſupport to him. He then united him to his own family, by a He advances Agrippa greatly.

* Rollin's Hiſt. Rom. Rep. Vol. VIII. Book 26. §. 3. and Vol. XIV. Book 47. §. 1.

marriage

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A. R. 724. bef. C. 28. marriage with his niece Marcella, ſiſter to young Marcellus. Hiſtory does not tell us whether Agrippa was a widower, or whether, to be able to contract this alliance, he ſeparated from Attica, by whom he had a daughter, married to Tiberius.

Octavius made Agrippa almoſt equal to himſelf. Dion obſerves on this occaſion, that when they were together at the army, Octavius would have Agrippa's tent be like his own, and that he ſhould give the order as well as himſelf.

Cloſe of the luſtre, after 41 years interruption.

I have ſaid that he was aſſociated, under another title, in the functions of Cenſor. As ſuch they finiſhed this year the Cens, or numbering of the people, and performed the ceremony of cloſing the luſtre, which had ſuffered an interruption of forty-one years, ſince the Cenſorſhip of Gellius and Lentulus. The number of citizens amounted to four millions one hundred and ſixty-three thouſand.

Lapis Ancyr.

Several acts of good conduct, wiſdom, and generoſity, fill up the year of Octavius's ſixth Conſulſhip.

Several Senators are aſſiſted by the liberality of Octavius.

He liberally aſſiſted many of the Senators, whoſe fortunes were not anſwerable to their rank, merit, and diſtinguiſhed birth; and by that means preſerved to the Republic one of its magiſtracies, the Curule Edile, for which there often had been no candidates of late. For as that office, on one hand, required a vaſt expence for the games and ſhews; and on the other, the favour of the people, which uſed to be gained by ſuch ſhews, was no longer of uſe towards making a fortune or being advanced, ſince the alterations in the government, an office ſo burthenſome, and attended with no advantages,

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advantages, was no longer ſought after; and more than once, Rome being without Ediles, the Prætors were obliged to officiate as ſuch. A.R. 724. bef. C. 28.

He gives the adminiſtration of the public treaſure to ancient Prætors.

He reformed the adminiſtration of the public treaſure, which had always been managed by the Quæſtors; and was liable to inconveniencies on account of the youth of thoſe magiſtrates: for the Quæſtorſhip was the firſt office thro' which the youth paſſed, in order to arrive at places of greater dignity. Octavius thought a thing of ſo great importance as the public treaſure required the care of riper men, and therefore put the chief management of it into the hands of two ancient Prætors, reſerving without doubt to the Quæſtors ſubordinate employments under them. But his care of the ſtate's finances never degenerated into private hardſhip or oppreſſion: on the contrary, he eaſed the people by remitting all debts due to the public treaſure, and even burnt the vouchers for them.

Public edifices repaired or built.

He embelliſhed and adorned the city either by erecting new buildings, or repairing old ones, or building them up again. This year he finiſhed the temple and library of Apollo Palatine, mentioned in the Hiſtory of the Republic: and as to old temples or other public buildings that were going to decay, if any heirs or ſucceſſors of their firſt founders were living, he exhorted them to repair thoſe monuments of their name and family, otherwiſe he undertook it himſelf, but without aſſuming the honour of it; he left that entirely to thoſe who had founded and built them.

He annuls all acts of the Triumvirate.

Every part, as may be ſeen, of Octavius's government tended to the public good; and what has been already mentioned of praiſe-wor-

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A.R. 724. bef. C. 28. thy, he crowned by an action truly magnanimous. He was not afraid to declare to the whole universe the iniquitous tyranny of all that had been done by the Triumvirate; and by one Edict annulled and abolished all the acts of those unhappy times, all that himself and his brother collegues in the Triumvirate had done and ordained unto the time of his sixth Consulship: intending that should be the epoch of the renewal of the laws, of good order, and of public happiness.

Thus did he make the Roman nation sensible of the precious advantages of a wise monarchy beyond a turbulent liberty. Having sufficiently proved how much the happiness of the state depended on his government, he thought he might with safety take such steps as to him seemed necessary to give the sanction of legitimacy to the authority he was in possession of; and resolved to affect a design to abdicate the supreme power, which hitherto he held only by force, but wished to owe to the unanimous consent of those over whom it was to be exercised. This he put in execution in the very beginning of his seventh Consulship, in which again he chose to have Agrippa for his collegue.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus VII. M. Agrippa III.

A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. He declares to the Senate that he abdicates the supreme power.

THE seventh day of January, Octavius, having first communicated his designs, not only to his collegue, but to some of the Senators on whose affection he relied most, entered the Senate, and declared that he abdicated the supreme power, and restored it to the Senate

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nate and Roman people, to whom it of right belonged. He read, to this purpoſe, as was his cuſtom, a diſcourſe, certainly not like that which Dion makes him ſpeak, full of haughty arrogance, frivolous vanity, and an affectation of pompous expreſſions, ill ſuiting the character of Octavius, who always tended to what was ſolid, and deſpiſed what had only an empty ſound. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Let us be content to know the eſſential part, which may properly be reduced to one head. The more he was ſenſible the ſtep he was taking might be ſuſpected, the more he endeavoured to appear ſincere: he ſpake the language of a man who really intended to abdicate, adviſed the Senators to make a proper uſe of the ſupreme power which he reſtored to them, and ended with wiſhing and foretelling proſperity to their new government.

Thoſe who were in the ſecret applauded: the reſt were greatly embarraſſed. The clear-ſighted ſaw through the myſtery, but dared not ſay it. Of thoſe who thought Octavius meant what he ſaid, ſome were pleaſed, and glad to think they were going to be freed from the yoke of ſervitude; others, whoſe fortune depended on the name and family of the Cæſars, or even who, tired of troubles and civil diſcords, wiſhed only for peace and public tranquillity, all hopes of which centered in the perſon of Octavius, were really afflicted to think he ſhould reſign, and replunge their country into all thoſe miſeries from which he alone had been able to deliver it. The Senators are of different opinions.

Amidſt this diverſity of opinions, all agreed however in preſſing him moſt earneſtly to deſiſt from a reſolution ſo fatal to the public repoſe. Great ſtrength of argument was not neceſſary, All agree to oppoſe his abdication; He yields.

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. he ſoon yielded, but at the ſame time annexed to his conſent certain reſtrictions, which, whilſt they added to a ſhew of modeſty, were no ways prejudicial to the well-combined plan of his ambition.

He divides the Provinces with the Senate.

Declaring then that out of deference to the will of the Senate ſo ſtrongly urged, he undertook the general conduct of the Republic's affairs, he added, that his intention was not to bear ſingly all the weight, but that he was reſolved to divide the Provinces with the Senate and people; ſo that ſome ſhould be under the immediate direction of the Senate, and the reſt under his. In the choice of thoſe Provinces he expreſſed a readineſs to take to his ſhare, ſuch as were moſt turbulent and moſt liable to tumults and ſeditions, and the frontiers expoſed to incurſions from foreign enemies; leaving to the Senators thoſe whoſe peaceful ſtate would let them taſte the ſweets of command, without ſuffering its uneaſineſſes and alarms. A ſpecious pretence to have at his command all the forces of the Empire: whilſt the Senate, having the care only of unarmed Provinces, would be without troops, and conſequently not able to give him any umbrage.

The Provinces in the Senate's department were Africa, that is to ſay the country round about Carthage and Utica; Numidia; Aſia properly called, comprehending the ancient kingdom of Pergamus; Greece, then more commonly called Achaia; Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily, the iſle of Crete with the Cyrenaic, Bithynia joined with Pontus, the iſland of Sardinia, and in Spain, Bœtica. Octavius reſerved to himſelf the reſt of Spain, divided into two

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two provinces, Tarragon and Luſitania, all Gaul, comprehending the Narbonneſe and Celtic, which then began to be called the Lyonneſe, Aquitania, Belgia, and the two Germany's upper and lower; that is to ſay, along the borders of the Rhine, on the left of that river, from about Baſle down to its mouth. In the Eaſt, Cæloſyria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, the iſland of Cyprus and Egypt, fell to the lot of Octavius. A.R. 725; bef. C. 27.

In this account, given by Dion, no mention is made of Italy, becauſe it was conſidered, not as a Province, but as the queen and miſtreſs of all Provinces. Italy continued to be governed as before the changes made in the Republic: all its inhabitants were citizens of Rome, and each people, each town, had its magiſtrates, who in caſes of importance had recourſe to the Senate and Magiſtrates of Rome, or to the head of the empire.

It is farther to be obſerved, that in this partition of the Provinces, no countries are included but ſuch as were under the immediate dominion of the republic. The whole empire comprehended ſeveral cities and nations that were free; kings, as Herod in Judæa; in Mauritania, Juba, who married Cleopatra, Antony's daughter. Theſe kings and nations were not reputed ſubjects, tho' they lived under the protection and in dependence on the Roman empire. In ſucceeding times all theſe countries were, one after another, reduced into Provinces, and fell to the Emperor's lot, and not the Senate's.

Laſtly, I muſt obſerve, that this allotment of the Provinces, made by Octavius, was not

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A.R. 725. Bef. C. 27. invariable. He himſelf took Dalmatia, where a great war broke out, and gave the Senate in exchange Cyprus and the Narbonneſe. Several other alterations happened under his ſucceſſors, of which we ſhall make mention in their proper places.

He undertakes the government for ten years only; but by renewing it from time to time keeps it all his life.

Such was the firſt reſerve by which Octavius moderated or limited, at leaſt in appearance, that unbounded power the Senate had given up to him. He added, but ſtill with the ſame intent, another limitation as to its duration. He would not accept the power of Government but for ten years, and proteſted, with his uſual ſincerity, that if he ſhould ſucceed in putting the Republic into a happy and laſting ſituation, in a ſhorter time, he ſhould not wait the expiration of that term to reſign. Theſe were but words. At the end of the ten years, he had himſelf continued in the ſupreme power, ſometimes for five, ſometimes for ten years more, and in that manner kept it all his life. His ſucceſſors, who came to the empire, without any limitation of time, kept up however ſome traces of thoſe decennial renewals, by celebrating every ten years ſolemn feaſts, as for a renewal of the ſovereign authority in their perſons.

He receives the name of Auguſtus. *Tillemont. Aug.* VI.

The diviſion of the Provinces between Octavius and the Senate was ſettled the 13th of January; and the 17th Octavius received the appellation of Auguſtus: he was not ſorry to take a new name, that was a title of diſtinction, and not odious nor ſavouring of tyranny. At firſt he thought of that of Romulus, as a name proper to create a reſpect for him as for a ſecond founder of Rome: but then Romulus was a king,

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king, and a deſpotic king, who had drawn on himſelf the anger and revenge of the Senate. Octavius therefore apprehended that name might awaken diſagreeable and perhaps fatal ideas. He rather choſe that of Auguſtus, which ſignifies a perſon or thing conſecrated by religion, and, as it were, nearly allied to the deity. Plancus, doubtleſs, in concert with him, firſt propoſed it, and the Senate ſolemnly conferred the appellation on him. This name was tranſmitted to his ſucceſſors, but tho' common to all who held the firſt rank in the Roman Empire, hiſtorians have given it particularly to him for whom it was invented and who firſt bore it. By that name we ſhall hereafter call that Prince we have hitherto named Octavius Cæſar. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that the change in the Roman government is to be reckoned from the ſeventh Conſulſhip of Auguſtus, or to ſpeak more preciſely, from the ſeventh day of January in that ſeventh Conſulſhip. All that paſſed before were acts of violence, no ways prejudicial to the rights of the Senate and people, ſtill ready to reſume their claims whenever that violence ſhould ceaſe. But by the decree we are ſpeaking of, the Senate diveſts itſelf of the adminiſtration of the ſupreme power, and transfers it to Octavius. There is no room to doubt, tho' hiſtorians * are

The change in the Roman government muſt be dated from the ſeventh Conſulſhip of Auguſtus.

ſilent,

* *In the Roman law we find mention made of a Lex Regalis, or Royal Law, by which the whole power of the Senate and people is tranſferred to the Emperors. But it is not ſaid that this law was paſſed in a ſolemn aſſembly of the people. We have a conſiderable fragment of the Act by which all* Præf. 1. Dig. §. 7. & Lege Quod Principi, 1. Dig. de Conſtit. Princ.

* See Gravina de Imper. Rom.

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. silent, but this decree was ratified by the suffrages of the people solemnly assembled. Octavius was too wary and circumspect to omit so essential a formality. Thus the exercise of the sovereign authority was by the two orders to whom it belonged put into the hands of one person, and the government assumed the form of a Monarchy instead of a Republic.

all the powers that Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius enjoy'd are given to Vespasian. Many of the learned have thought that this Act, which was repeated on every accession of a new Emperor, is the Lex Regalis, or Royal Law in question. But after Tiberius the people had hardly any longer share in public affairs, and the act by which the empire is conferred on Vespasian, can be no other than a decree of the Senate. It is true then that no ancient record remains to prove that the people conferred the exercise of the sovereign authority on Augustus: but the fact ought not to seem less certain, and the conjecture on which I build surpasses a bare probability. What sets it beyond all doubt is, that when Augustus, three years before his death, raised Tiberius to an equality of power with himself, Velleius says expressly (II. 111.) *that it was by the authority of the Senate and Roman people; and Suetonius* (Tib. c. 21.) *makes mention of a law passed on that occasion by the Consuls.*

AUGUSTUS

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AUGUSTUS EMPEROR.

AUGUSTUS, however, would take no title that might characteriſe him a monarch. He always expreſſed a great hatred not only to the name of King, which ſince the expulſion of the Tarquins was abhorred by the Romans, but even to that of Dictator, which by a law of Antony's was aboliſhed immediately after Cæſar's death. In that he acted very artfully; heaping on himſelf different titles, all uſed before and all Republican in themſelves, by that means diſguiſing a new form of government under old names. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. All titles of power and authority are united in the perſon of Auguſtus.

The firſt of thoſe titles was *Imperator*, whence our word *Emperor*. This title had been uſed in the time of the Republic in two ſenſes: at firſt it denoted only a General of an Army; afterwards it was given as a name of glory and honour to a chief who had conquered the enemy in an important action. Auguſtus in taking this title, gave it a much greater extent, in imitation of the dictator Cæſar, on whom it had been likewiſe beſtowed. The Emperor, in this ſenſe was Generaliſſimo of all the forces of the Empire, and all ſuch as commanded them were no more than his Lieutenants. A command ſo univerſal was aſſuredly a moſt Royal Privilege. No Citizen ever enjoyed it under the Republic. Pompey was, however, an example Auguſtus might have alledged to ſhew he was not doing a thing abſolutely new. That of Imperator or Emperor, *Dio.*

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. In the war againſt the Pirates Pompey had received the command of all the maritime forces of the Empire and of all the Seas; to which was afterwards added in the war with Mithridates the command of all the Republic's armies in the provinces of the Eaſt. And as to the right of governing provinces and armies by his orders, at a great diſtance, without ſtirring from his cloſet, Pompey had enjoyed even that with regard to Spain; and without leaving the Suburbs of Rome, or at leaſt Italy, had governed that great province and all the legions that were in it, as Proconſul and General in chief, exerciſing his authority by his Lieutenants Afranius, Petreius and Varro.

The Emperor was abſolute in all military affairs; he had the ſole right to make war or peace, to raiſe men and money: the ſword was in his hand, and he ſwayed it over, not only the ſoldiers, but all the Citizens, Roman Knights and Senators. This title to which ſuch great prerogatives were annexed, was conſidered as a ſpecial and particular mark of the ſovereign power reſiding in Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors; but being quite military, it ſhewed the origin of this new government founded on force of arms. The military people were too ſenſible of it, and in after-times carried their abuſe of it to great exceſs. So, according to M. Boſſuet's remark, "As the Republic had "its inevitable foible in the jealouſy between "the people and Senate; the dominion of the "Cæſars had its likewiſe in the licentiouſneſs of "the Soldiers who made them Cæſars." Auguſtus endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience by ſeeming to make the army ſubordi-

Hiſt. Univ.

nate

nate to the Laws; for, to receive from the Senate the right of commanding their armies was acknowledging the civil power ſuperior to the military. But the reality ſtill appeared thro' theſe ſlight diſguiſes, and the military men were not deceived. A. R. 725. bef. C. 27.

He likewiſe ſoftened the terror of the military title of Emperor, by other titles either mixed or entirely Civil.

He had been ſeveral times Conſul; but not being minded to perpetuate himſelf in that office, as if thro' modeſty, and to leave that high place quite free and open to ſuch citizens as had a right of aſpiring to it, after his eleventh Conſulſhip, he cauſed the Proconſular power to be given him, but only out of Rome and frome time to time, becauſe under the Republic the title and command of Proconſul were not aſſumed but when out of the City, and were laid aſide on returning back to it. In virtue of this proconſular power, he was to have, in whatever province he ſhould be, a command ſuperior to thoſe that might be the actual governors. The ſame privilege had been formerly granted in the Eaſt to Pompey, Brutus and Caſſius. Auguſtus, in order to have in the city the ſame power as was given him over the provinces, cauſed himſelf ſometime after to be veſted with the prerogatives and authority of Conſul, even when he did not diſcharge the functions of that office, and aſſumed all the marks of honour belonging to it, the twelve Faſces, and the Curule chair between the Conſuls chairs. The power of Proconſul and all the prerogatives of Conſul.

For the ſame reaſons the power of Tribune, in vain offered ſeveral times before, was now conferred The power of Tribune.

A.R. 725. Bef. C. 27. conferred on him: tho' he was not in fact Tribune, that title, reſerved for Plebeians only, being beneath his dignity. But by a convenient diſtinction, before made uſe of by Cæſar, he was veſted with all the authority without the name. The power of Tribune was of very great importance to him: by it, nothing could be done without his approbation, neither in the Senate nor in the aſſemblies of the people. The hiſtory of the Republic ſhews how far the Tribunes extended this power; and we may believe it loſt nothing of its weight in the hands of the Emperors. Beſides, in virtue of this title their perſons were ſacred and inviolable: not only attempts againſt their lives, but the ſlighteſt offences, the leaſt want of reſpect, was an impious crime. Auguſtus's ſucceſſors took ſtrange advantages of this privilege, and made it a pretence to ſpil much innocent blood.

But tho' the power of Tribune was granted the Emperors to perpetuity, yet they made a ſort of ſhew of renewing it every year; and the years of their reigns are reckoned by the years of their Tribunian power.

The power of Cenſor.

Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors aſſumed likewiſe the power of Cenſor, either under its true and ancient name, which ſeldom happened, or under that of ſuperintendant of the Laws and Manners. In virtue of this power they numbered the people, regiſtred Knights and Senators, or ſtruck off from that liſt whom they pleaſed.

The High Prieſthood.

So many titles united in one perſon, put him in poſſeſſion of the whole civil and military power. To this was added Religion, that great influencer of the human mind. Whilſt Lepidus lived,

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lived, Auguſtus let him enjoy the dignity of High Prieſt, becauſe there was no precedent of any perſon being deprived of it in his life-time. But it was no ſooner vacant, than he ſeized it, and his ſucceſſors in the Empire poſſeſſed it after him. This great title gave them a controul over all religious matters; and that they might have a more direct and immediate inſpection over every part of divine worſhip, they put themſelves at the head of all the Colleges of Prieſts, Augurs, and keepers of the Sybilline books and others; ſo that they became ſole arbitrators of ſacred as well as prophane. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

He cauſes himſelf to be diſpenſed from obſerving the laws.

Tho' nothing ſeemed wanting to ſo extenſive a power, yet the obſervance of the laws might ſometimes cramp it. Auguſtus found a remedy even for this. In the time of the Republic it was cuſtomary to aſk and obtain diſpenſations from obſerving the laws in ſome particular caſes. Thus the ſecond Scipio Africanus, Pompey and Octavius himſelf, in virtue of a diſpenſation from the Senate, had been named Conſuls before the age preſcribed by the laws. Auguſtus made that general, which before had taken place only on ſome particular occaſions; and cauſed himſelf to be univerſally diſpenſed from obſerving all the laws*: ſo that he obtained in a ſtate, whoſe foundation

* *Thus Dion expreſſes himſelf; and in fact it appears the Emperors behaved as if the diſpenſation had been general. Yet the terms of the decree of the Senate, mentioned in the foregoing note, admit of a limited ſenſe. Veſpaſian is diſpenſed from obſerving the laws from which Auguſtus, Tiberius and Claudius, had been diſpenſed:* Utique quibus legibus plebiſve ſcitis ſcriptum fuit ne divus Auguſtus, Tiberiuſve Julius

A.R.725. bef. C. 27. foundation ſtill remained Republican, an entire liberty as to the diſcharge of his functions, with an authority more independent than the moſt abſolute monarchs ever had.

The title of Father of the Country annexed to that of Emperor.

As to the title of Father of the Country, which had been formerly given to Cicero in his Conſulſhip, and afterwards to the Dictator Cæſar, if Auguſtus took it, as did almoſt all his Succeſſors, it was leſs with a view to aſſume a paternal authority over the citizens, than as [a] an appellation of fondneſs and tenderneſs, fit to remind the Prince of the love and protection he owes his people, and the people of that filial obedience with which they ought to acknowledge the care and protection of their Prince.

Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors were only diſpenſers of the ſovereign power, which itſelf was always radically veſted in the Senate and people. *Gravina, de Imper. Rom.*

With all theſe accumulated titles did Auguſtus adminiſter the ſovereign power in the Republic. Emperor, Proconſul, enjoying all the rights of Conſul, veſted with the power of Tribune and of Cenſor, diſpenſed from the yoke of the laws, in ſhort, High Prieſt, every kind of power military, civil and ſacred, centered in him. In fact the government was changed, ſince no body could any longer exerciſe any authority in the ſtate but what depended on one chief: as to the inſtitution, the right of things, it may indeed be ſaid the government was ſtill the ſame, ſince the Emperors had only the ſame magiſtracies and the ſame titles of command, as had been uſed in the

Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, Tiberiuſque Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus tenerentur iis legibus plebiſque ſcitis Imperator Cæſar Veſpaſianus ſolutus ſit.

[a] Patrem patriæ appellavimus, ut ſciret datam ſibi poteſtatem patriam, quæ eſt temperatiſſima, liberis conſulens, ſuaque poſt illos reponens. *Sen. de Clem. l.* 14.

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time of the Republican liberty. 'Tis true thoſe magiſtracies were formerly divided amongſt ſeveral, but tho' united now in one perſon, their nature was not changed. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Auguſtus took this method out of policy: he can hardly be ſuſpected of having acted in ſo nice and intereſting an affair from any motives of reſpect or veneration for the laws: fear of the public hatred, and care of his own ſafety, had taught him to dread ſplitting on thoſe rocks, the name of King, or even Dictator. But in ſhort it reſults from the plan he followed, that the whole ſupreme power was transferred to him, tho' the ſovereignty continued ſtill to reſide radically in the Senate and people.

That it was ſo is clear from the very nature of the facts. Auguſtus received his titles and powers from the Senate and people: thoſe two orders were conſequently the ſource; and what power Auguſtus had, only flowed from thence.

The ſovereignty itſelf moſt certainly reſided in the Senate, for the Senate often exerciſed the functions of ſovereignty: nor were the titles and privileges, I have been enumerating, given all together and at the ſame time to Auguſtus. That Prince, when Emperor, received from the Senate a diſpenſation from all the laws, the Proconſular power, the rights of Conſul to perpetuity, the authority of Tribune, the power to amend old laws and to enact new ones, and even the right of aſſembling the Senate whenever he thought fit, and to propoſe to them ſuch affairs as he judged proper. All theſe conceſſions are ſo many acts of ſovereignty over Auguſtus

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A.R. 725. Auguſtus himſelf. I ſhall mark their dates as
bef. C. 27. they occur in the courſe of this hiſtory.

What puts this matter beyond all doubt is, that the grant of theſe powers by the Senate's authority was renewed every ten years in favour of Auguſtus; or, on the death of an Emperor, in favour of him who ſucceeded. Theſe acts, ſo often repeated, are ſo many proofs that at each expiration, whether feigned or real, of the powers granted to the head of the empire, the full enjoyment of the Public authority devolved to the Senate, as to its ſource, and was by that Senate again beſtowed on the perſon that was to exerciſe it.

I thought it of ſome importance to give the reader a juſt and diſtinct idea of the nature of the government eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, and of the difference to be made between the power of the Cæſars, and a thorough ſettled Monarchy: this idea will be a key to many expreſſions, many ſteps that may ſurpriſe us, both in the good and in the bad Emperors; and eſpecially it will ſhew what right the Senate had to treat ſo roughly, as they more than once did, the memories and even the perſons of ſome of them.

Auguſtus then enjoyed the exerciſe of the ſupreme authority in virtue of the ſeveral titles united in him. He kept this authority unlimited, entire, and wholly in himſelf, ſo far as related to all military concerns: there lay his rampart and ſtrength. In civil affairs he thought proper to deal gently with the delicacy of the Romans, and in many things to flatter the Republican ideas that ſtill ſubſiſted in the minds of many. He therefore kept up all the outward

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outward form of government, the ſame names of magiſtracies, ſame meetings of the Senate, and ſame aſſemblies of the people. He took care without doubt that neither the Senate in their deliberations, nor the People in their nominations to offices, nor the magiſtrates in the diſcharge of their functions, ſhould do any thing contrary to his will and intereſts: and for that reaſon I have ſaid, after Tacitus, * ſame names of magiſtracies, for the reality ſubſiſted no longer. But he left them at liberty in matters of indifference: even in thoſe that concerned himſelf, he avoided all ſhew of deſpotiſm either in his voice or actions: he thought exhortations and gentle inſinuating methods preferable to a direct command: and the obedience every order of the Republic payed him, ſeemed almoſt a voluntary deference to his will.

A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. The outward form of government was preſerved in many things.

The outward form of things was not much changed. Rome had ſtill its Conſuls, Prætors, Tribunes of the people, Ediles, Quæſtors, who continued to enjoy the ſame honorary privileges, had the ſame marks of diſtinction, and pretty nearly the ſame functions as in the time of the Republic, except their being accountable to a chief, who was careful not to make them feel too much their dependence on him.

Same magiſtracies.

The number of Conſuls remained ſtill the ſame; that is to ſay, there never was more than two at a time. But it had been a cuſtom ſince the Triumvirate, and remained ſo under the Emperors, not to leave the Conſuls a whole year in that poſt: at the beginning of each year ſeveral were pricked down for Conſuls;

* Eadem magiſtratuum vocabula. *Tac. Annal. l. 3.*

ſome

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. some of whom bore that office some months, others not so long.

Lipſ. ad. Tac. An. 1. occurſ. D.

As to the Prætors, their number had not been absolutely fixed, even under the Republican government. Eight had been the last number fixed; Cæsar made it twelve and sixteen. Augustus generally kept it at twelve; tho' sometimes he had more, sometimes less created. Under his successors it varied greatly. Twelve was looked upon as the general rule, but was often deviated from, rather beyond than short of it.

New offices created, in order to admit a greater number of persons into some share of the public power.

To make the chief citizens amends for the diminution of the power they should have had in virtue of their offices, and having besides a [a] mind to associate a greater number of them in some share of the public administration, Augustus invented new offices, or rendered fixed certain commissions, which before were only given for a time: for which reason he instituted inspectors over different things, such as the public buildings, the care of the streets of Rome, and the preservation of peace and order in the several quarters of the city, the aqueducts, clearing the bed of the Tiber, the purchase of corn, and distribution of it to the people. It appears that these offices always subsisted. Whenever he thought it necessary to make a review of the Senate or Knights, he named for that purpose three commissaries for each of those two orders. Himself undertook to repair and keep up the Flaminian way, and the other great roads were given to such as had received Consular and Triumphal Honours;

[a] Quo plures partem administrandæ caperent. *Suet. Aug.* 37.

and

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and to defray the expences of their employments, he assigned them the produce of the sale of the spoils they themselves had taken from the enemy. Thus Augustus endeavoured to amuse the great by substituting, in lieu of the real power which he deprived them of, some faint resemblances of authority and rule, by which they were set a little above and distinguished from the other citizens. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

He established likewise a Prefect or Governor of Rome for life: but that was an important employment, an office of trust, which Augustus took care to put into very sure hands. Mecænas held it a long time; but whether his credit became less, or whether this place, the power of which was despotic, not being subject to ordinary forms, seemed too great for one in the simple station of a Roman Senator, it was given to Statilius Taurus, * a man of low extraction, but who by his merit and the Prince's favour had attained a very great rank in the Senate and Empire. Prefect of Rome. *Tac. Ann.* VI. 11.

Such was the order devised and established by Augustus in the magistracy. He followed the same system with regard to the Senate, and preserved that chief body of the republic in all the appearances of its ancient majesty: their meetings were regular, and the Consuls presided: affairs of state were laid before them for their deliberation: Ambassadors from Kings and other nations had their audiences of the Senate: no new establishment was made, no old one suppressed, but with the Senate's authority and approbation. Augustus asked and Antient rights preserved to the Senate.

* *I make no mention here of Messala, who was Prefect of Rome for a few days only.*

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. obtained from the Senate favours for himſelf, his children, and relations. All the ceremonials of the ancient adminiſtration were kept up, whilſt the reality was entirely changed.

Privy Council. *Suet. Aug.* 35. *Dio.*

As the Senate met regularly but twice a month, and it was not the Emperor's intereſt to make their meetings more frequent, he cauſed a Privy Council to be allotted him, compoſed of his collegue, when he was Conſul himſelf, otherwiſe of the two Conſuls, of one member of each college, of the other magiſtrates, and fifteen Senators. With this Council he determined things that required diſpatch, and prepared thoſe that were to be laid before the general aſſembly of the Senate. This cuſtom, tho' tending greatly to favour a monarchical power, was not new. In the time of the republican liberty, the Conſuls uſed often to deliberate in this manner with ſome of the oldeſt Senators, on affairs that required quick diſpatch: there was even a place in the Capitol deſtined for thoſe leſſer aſſemblies.

All Governors of Provinces taken from amongſt the body of Senators.

Auguſtus likewiſe preſerved to the Senate the privilege of naming out of their body all Governors of provinces, Egypt excepted, for reaſons formerly mentioned *, whoſe Commander and chief magiſtrate was only a Roman Knight, with the modeſt title of Prefect. All the other provinces, as well thoſe that were governed in the name of the Senate and people, as thoſe which the Emperor kept immediately in his own hands, were governed by Senators. But there was an eſſential difference between the Governors of thoſe two ſorts of provinces: the former had more outward ſhew and briliancy

* *Hiſt. of the Republ. Book* LII.

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with leſs real power; the latter had a much greater authority with leſs pomp and ſplendor. A.R 725. bef. C, 27.

At firſt the Governors of the peoples provinces (for ſo they were called) had the title of Pro-conſuls, tho' but two of thoſe provinces, Aſia and Africa, properly belonged to the Conſular dignity; and the others, in much greater number, were deſtined for ancient Prætors. Each had a number of Lictors proportioned to his rank; Conſuls had twelve, ancient Prætors ſix. They aſſumed their badges of dignity when they left Rome, and depoſed them when they returned, as had always been the cuſtom. The peoples Provinces governed by Pro-conſuls.

But their power was limited to a year: nor were they allowed to ſtep at once from the diſcharge of the functions of magiſtrate in the city, into the rank of Pro-conſul of a province. Auguſtus, careful not to accuſtom private perſons to a continuation of power, revived the law made by Pompey in his third Conſulſhip, by which Prætors and Conſuls could not become Governors of provinces, till five years after the expiration of the offices they had held in Rome. They were only civil magiſtrates.

In their provinces they were no more than civil magiſtrates, without any command over the troops or any military function. Their dreſs was the habit worn in times of peace, neither ſword nor armour. They were choſen with the approbation of the Emperor, the Aſſeſſors, Counſellors or Lieutenants, whichever you pleaſe to call them, and a Quæſtor was aſſigned them by lot, which proves they had the adminiſtration of the finances as well as of juſtice, ſo far as their government extended; but not with ſo full a power as in the times of

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. the republic. The Emperor ſent into the peoples provinces as well as his own, Intendants, who were choſen out of the order of Knights, and ſometimes from amongſt his freemen: and thoſe Intendants, whoſe commiſſion was to take care of the Prince's finances, cramped the Pro-conſul's power, and were a check on him in many things relative to raiſing and diſburſing the public money.

The Pro-conſuls were at firſt balloted, according to ancient cuſtom; but as by this method the caprice of chance often beſtowed that employment on people unfit for it, the Emperor interpoſed his authority. He ſingled out for the vacant provinces the ſame number of proper ſubjects, and then chance decided which ſhould have which.

Tac. Ann. xiii. 4. The more eſſential affairs that occurred in the peoples provinces were to be laid before the Senate, from whom thoſe that governed were deemed to receive their authority: this was another of the Senate's ancient prerogatives, politically continued by Auguſtus.

The Emperor's Lieutenants ſent to the Provinces in his department with a military power. The moſt eſſential difference, in point of power, between the Governors of the Emperor's provinces and the Pro-conſuls, was, that the former had the command of the troops, which was not allowed the latter. They were Lieutenants of the Emperor, ſole General throughout the whole empire. As the Emperor was likewiſe ſole Pro-conſul in the provinces of his department, his Lieutenants had only the title of Pro-prætors, even tho' they had paſſed the Conſulſhip. They wore the badges of military command, the ſword and coat of mail. If on one hand their authority was greater than the

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Pro-conſuls in their provinces, on the other it was more dependant on the Emperor, who put in or out at his pleaſure. They did not aſſume the badges of their dignity till they were in the provinces aſſigned them, and laid them aſide the moment they were recalled: in which caſe they were inſtantly to leave the province like private men, and were ordered not to prolong their return by any delays, but to appear before the Emperor in Rome within three months, to give him an account of their conduct. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Theſe Lieutenants, doubtleſs in quality of Pro-prætors, ſat at the head of juſtice in their provinces. I cannot ſay how far their power extended with regard to the finances: they had not, like the Pro-conſuls, a right to levy the public monies. The Intendants, juſt mentioned, having a more extenſive power in the Emperor's provinces than in the peoples, were alone commiſſioned for that; and tho' they were inferior in rank to the Lieutenants, it ſeems doubtful whether they received orders from them. The Emperors were always ready to advance ſuch ſubaltern officers who could no ways give them any umbrage: nay they ſometimes gave them governments in ſmall departments. Pilate, no more than an Intendant, was Governor of Judæa, as appears by the Goſpel Hiſtory.

Intendants to levy and diſburſe the monies belonging to the Emperor.

From the whole of this account of the form of government eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, it appers that tho' abſolute and monarchical in the military parts, it was mixed in civil affairs. Within Rome all matters were ſettled by the Emperor and Senate jointly. The provinces

The government of the Emperors was monarchical in military and mixed in civil affairs.

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. were divided: and tho' he who has the power in his hands preſcribes laws, yet in the common courſe of things the Senate had as freely the adminiſtration of the provinces in their department, as the Emperor had the government of his. Even the public treaſury was diſtinguiſhed from the Emperor's exchequer: a diſtinction indeed of no real conſequence, ſince the Emperor diſpoſed of both: but it was a ſort of indication of a republican conſtitution, and a kind of acknowledgment that the ſtate did not reſide in the Prince, who was to be conſidered only as adminiſtrator of thoſe funds whoſe property belonged to the republic.

Public treaſury. Emperor's exchequer.

The ſame ſpirit reigned in every thing, and tho' the nature of a military power be to get the upper hand of that which is only civil; tho' a courſe of time neceſſarily introduced ſome variations in ſome particular things; yet one may venture to aſſert that the government in general ſubſiſted, for ſeveral ages at leaſt, on the ſame foundations on which Auguſtus fixed it: that the empire never became abſolutely a monarchy, and that there always remained ſome ſymptoms of its having been built on a republican foundation.

See *Gravina's Diſſertation de Imperio Romano.*

In the account I have given of the new ſyſtem of government, the people has had but a ſmall ſhare; becauſe the prerogatives of that order, in whom the ſovereignty formerly reſided, were reduced almoſt to nothing by Auguſtus, and totally extinguiſhed by his ſucceſſors. A ſingle chief is more readily induced to let the great ones have ſome ſhare in the public authority, than to admit the vulgar: and the enormous abuſe the people had made

The public preſerves under Auguſtus the right of naming to employments.

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of their power, ſeemed to authoriſe the taking it from them. However, Auguſtus, always careful to keep up a reſemblance at leaſt of antiquity, would not aboliſh the aſſemblies of the people: he left them the right of nomination to employments, and of giving their votes when new laws were to be paſſed; tho' in fact he directed what was done in thoſe aſſemblies, and brought them to the point he deſired. The people knew not how to make a proper uſe even of this feeble remnant of power; and when Auguſtus was abſent from Rome, at election times, there ſeldom failed to happen troubles and diſorders that could not be appeaſed but by the prince's authority. A. R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Tiberius changed this order, and in the firſt year of his reign transferred the right of elections to the Senate: nor did the populace ſhew their diſlike otherwiſe than in vain murmurs. The people retained however the ſhadow of the legiſlative power ſome years longer: there are ſome * laws enacted under Tiberius by the Conſuls, according to the ancient form. They are the laſt examples of the kind. From that time, inſtead of laws, we find nothing but reſolutions of the Senate. Thus the Senate united the people's rights to their own, and by that means acquired the privilege of repreſenting ſingly the ancient republic. Tiberius transfers thoſe elections to the Senate, which by that means repreſents ſingly the ancient Republic. *Tac. Ann.* l. 15.

Caligula was diſpoſed to reſtore the right of elections to the people; but that deſign of his was never put in execution, no more than many other chimerical projects of that mad prince.

Thus in a ſhort time the people was deprived of all ſhare in the government: and the ambi-

* *The law* Junia Norbana, *the law* Viſellea.

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. tious desires of those [a] tremendous conquerors of the universe, those burgesses who thought themselves above any thing on earth, and to whom the first men in the Empire formerly paid their court to obtain commands and posts, now rose no higher than the gratuities and distributions of bread wine and victuals, with which their Emperors alleviated their misery, and the shews with which they amused their fickleness and laziness.

The happiness the Romans enjoy under Augustus makes them amends for their loss of liberty.

Under this new government the Roman people may seem greatly fallen from their ancient splendor. They lost in effect the exercise of sovereignty which all the Citizens thought themselves in sure possession of, and the privileges they all enjoyed in common. But this advantage, so fit to please their vanity, was long become a constant source of disorders and misfortunes to the Republic in general, and to each citizen in particular. The Romans, when they lost a tumultuous liberty, which had degenerated into a dreadful licentiousness, lost, properly speaking, only an imaginary good; and were sufficiently recompensed by the real and solid benefits that flowed from Monarchy.

The civil wars ended after [b] twenty years of ravage; foreign wars victoriously terminated,

[a] ——— Qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem & Circenses ——— *Juv. Sat.* X. v. 78.

[b] Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor: restituta vis legibus, judiciis auctoritas - - - - - - - - rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio; leges emendatæ utiliter, latæ salubriter Vell. II. 89. *I have ommitted in this passage of Velleius what was dictated by flattery.*

or

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or happily avoided by a prudent conduct, or carried on so well that the tranquility of the state did not suffer at home: peace established, the rage of arms quelled every where, the laws again put in force, proper authority restored to the Tribunals, culture to the fields, respect and honour to sacred things, repose and the free and peaceable possession of their properties to the citizens and subjects of the Empire, old laws amended, new ones made with wisdom; such were the fruits of the change introduced by Augustus, and such the general idea that may before-hand be formed of what we shall have to say concerning his government. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Those excellent poets, his cotemporaries, honoured with his bounties and his esteem, delighted in painting the public happiness, the fruit of his care, and I hope the reader will be pleased with a perusal of Horace's charming description of it [c].

Safe by thy cares her oxen graze,
And yellow Ceres clothes her fields:

[c] Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat:
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Faustitas;
Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ:
Culpari metuit fides:
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris:
Mos & lex maculosum edomuit nefas:
Laudantur simiti prole puerperæ:
Culpam pœna premit comes.
Quis Parthum paveat? quis gelidum Scythen?
Quis, Germania quos horrida parturit
Fœtus, incolumi Cæsare? quis feræ
Bellum curet Iberiæ?
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores:
Hinc ad vina redit lætus, & alteris
Te mensis adhibet Deum.

The

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

The ſailor plows the peaceful ſeas,
And earth her rich abundance yields,
While nobly conſcious of unſullied fame,
Fair honour dreads th' imputed ſenſe of blame.

By thee our wedded dames are pure
From foul adultery's embrace;
The conſcious father views ſecure
His own reſemblance in his race:
Thy chaſte example quells the ſpotted deed,
And to the guilt thy puniſhments ſucceed.

Who ſhall the faithleſs Parthian dread,
The freezing armies of the north,
Or the fierce youth, to battle bred,
Whom horrid Germany brings forth?
Who ſhall regard the war of cruel Spain,
If Cæſar live ſecure, if Cæſar reign?

Safe in his vineyard toils the hind,
Weds to the widow'd elm his vine,
'Till the ſun ſets his hill behind,
Then haſtens joyful to his wine,
And in his hours of mirthfulneſs implores
Thy Godhead to protect and bleſs his ſtores.

The Provinces more happy under the new Government.

Rome and Italy did not alone enjoy the fruits and ſweets of the new government. The Provinces, plundered and harraſſed before by the avidity of the Prætors, tormented by as many petty tyrants as there came among them Romans in any office, diſtracted and exhauſted by Civil Wars, now began to recover from all thoſe ills, under a Prince who, whilſt he cauſed peace to reign, knew alſo how to make the laws reſpected, and to diſtribute an equal juſtice to every one.

Thus

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Thus the wiſdom of Auguſtus was like a fruitful ſpring from whence happineſs flowed, and ſpread itſelf over each part of the univerſe. He uſed to ſay, ſpeaking of Alexander, that he wondered how that Conqueror could fear he ſhould have nothing more to do, when he ſhould have no more nations to conquer; as if it were not much greater to govern a vaſt Empire than to conquer it. He proved the truth of this ſaying in himſelf; for he never had any more noble, more glorious, nor more heroic occupation, than when he had no longer wars to make, nor victories to gain. A. R. 725. bef. C. 27. Saying of Auguſtus concerning Alexander.

This calm and tranquility in which conſiſted the happineſs of the Auguſtan age, have rendered the hiſtory of it more dry and leſs intereſting to us. It were not to be wiſhed for the ſake of mankind, that the times in which they live ſhould afford Writers a plentiful harveſt of ſuch events as are moſt apt to intereſt and move their Readers. Beſides by the new conſtitution of the ſtate [a], public affairs being now become quite foreign to many of the Citizens, were entirely unknown to them; nor had they opportunities of being informed of what paſſed in a privy council, as they knew formerly what was done in the aſſemblies of the Senate and people. However, there were not wanting ſome bright genius's whoſe pens were employed on theſe leſs fruitful times: but their works are loſt. Dion Caſſius is almoſt the only one we have left; an author little able to make amends for the loſs of the reſt. Velleius is an abbreviator, and infected with the poiſon of flattery. Sueto- Hiſtory becomes more ſileat. *Tac. Ann.* l. 1.

[a] Inſcitia Reipublicæ, ut alienæ. *Tac. Hiſt.* l. 1.

nius,

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. nius, a biographer, not an hiſtorian: his accounts are curious and intereſting, fit to give us a knowledge of the perſons of the Emperors he ſpeaks of, but they are not a ſeries of facts, ſtill leſs do they let us into the ſecret ſprings and cauſes of actions. To enrich ſo ſteril a ground, it was neceſſary to pick up from the poets of thoſe times, and from later writers, who thought of nothing leſs than of compoſing a hiſtory of Auguſtus, ſome detached ſcraps ſcattered up and down. 'Tis what Freinſhemius executed with ſucceſs: but he, like Livy's epitomiſer, ends with the death of Druſus. The illuſtrious M. de Tillemont has treated in this manner not only the hiſtory of Auguſtus, but that of his ſucceſſors too. His memoires will be my chief help in the work I have undertaken. I ſhall take them for my guide ſo much the more readily, as their author, to a profound erudition joins the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which aſcribes all to God, to Jeſus Chriſt and to Religion, the ſole object to which ought to tend all we do, of whatever kind it be.

SECT.

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SECT. II.

NEW honours and privileges decreed Auguſtus by the Senate. Double pay to the troops of the Emperor's guard. Laurel and civic Crown. The name of the month Sextilis *changed to that of* Auguſtus. *A Tribune of the people devotes himſelf to Auguſtus according to the cuſtom of the Celtes. Auguſtus goes to Gaul. Meſſala's triumph. Auguſtus goes to Spain, Fall and tragical death of Cornelius Gallus. Thanks returned the Gods for that event. Public hatred againſt his accuſer. Idle vanity of Egnatius Rufus. Agrippa's wiſe conduct. Public buildings erected by him. The Julian parks. Pantheon. Public baths. Temple of Neptune. The temple of Janus re-opened. The Salaſſi conquered, Aoſta founded. Triumphal arch and trophies erected on a ſummit of the Alps. Auguſtus ſubdues with great difficulty the Cantabrians and Aſturians. His inclination for peace. Spain pacified after two hundred years war. Temple of Janus ſhut. Merida founded. Auguſtus marries his nephew Marcellus to his daughter Julia. His regard for Agrippa. A memorable inſtance of filial piety. Auguſtus diſpenſed from the obſervation of the laws. Prerogatives granted Marcellus and Tiberius. Queſtors are wanting for the provinces. Unhappy expedition of Elius Gallus into Arabia. War againſt Candaces Queen of Ethiopia. Auguſtus grants her peace. The Conſul Piſo had been one of the moſt zealous defenders of the Re-*

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Republican party. Marcellus is made Edile. Auguſtus, dangerouſly ill, names no ſucceſſor, and gives his ring to Agrippa. Antonius Muſa, Phyſician, cures him by Cold Baths. Removal of Agrippa who gave umbrage to Marcellus. Death of Marcellus. He is infinitely regretted. Lines of Virgil on his Death. Honours done his memory by Auguſtus. 'Tis unjuſtly ſome moderns have ſuſpected Auguſtus of having partaken in his Nephew's death. Suſpicions againſt Livia are not proved. Auguſtus's cares to appeaſe Agrippa. He reſigns the Conſulſhip. Makes an old and faithful friend of Brutus his Succeſſor in the Conſulſhip. New prerogatives and titles of power granted Auguſtus by the Senate. His deference towards the Senate. Affair of Tiridates and Phraates. overflowing of the Tiber. Contagious diſtempers. Scarcity. The people offer the Dictatorſhip to Auguſtus, who refuſes it. He accepts the ſuperintendance of proviſions. He refuſes the Cenſorſhip, and has Cenſors created. Character of the two Cenſors. It is the laſt Cenſorſhip held by private men. Auguſtus makes up for the want of capacity in the Cenſors, Paulus and Plancus. His moderation in private life. Conſpiracy of Fannius Cæpio and Mureæna diſcovered and puniſhed. Bold action of Cæpio the father. Law to condemn perſons accuſed who would not appear. He who diſcovered the conſpiracy is accuſed. Auguſtus ſaves him. He undertakes a journey to the Eaſt. Troubles in Rome on account of the Election of Conſuls. Auguſtus recalls Agrippa, and makes him his ſon-in-law. After viſiting Sicily and Greece, he ſpends the winter at Samos. He viſits the provinces

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provinces of Asia Minor, and goes into Syria. Roman prisoners and standards returned by Phraates. He gives as hostages his four sons with their wives and children. Augustus's moderation towards the Kings and people under the protection of the Roman Empire. He sets Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. Tiberius begins to distinguish himself. Birth of Caius grandson to Augustus. Indian ambassadors received by Augustus at Samos. An Indian Philosopher burns himself in his presence.

I Shall resume the thread of this history by taking notice of the new honours and privileges which the Senate decreed Augustus at the same time that they conferred the supreme power on him. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. New honours and privileges decreed Augustus by the Senate.

As Emperor, he had a numerous guard, under the old name peculiar to a General's guard, *Prætorian Cohorts*. That these troops might be the more zealously and faithfully watchful over the safety of the Prince's person, the Senate ordered their pay to be doubled. Double pay to the troops of the Emperor's guard. *Dio.* l. LIII.

The Senate likewise ordered that the gate of his palace should be always adorned with a laurel, and over that a civic crown: as a public acknowledgment of gratitude towards the conqueror of the State's enemies, and the preserver of its citizens. We have still some coins of this Prince, with the double symbol of the laurel and civic crown, with this legend, OB CIVEIS SERVATOS, *for having preserved the Citizens.* Laurel and civic crown.

One of the months of the year had had a new name given it, in memory of Julius Cæsar, the The name of the month *Sextilis* changed to that of *Augustus.*

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. the month of July called *Julius*. The ſame honour was intended Auguſtus, and it was reſolved to give his name to the month of September, in which he was born. He preferred the preceding month for the reaſons mentioned in the deliberations of the Senate preſerved by Macrobius. Their tenor ran thus: AS IT WAS IN THE MONTH, HITHERTO CALLED SEXTILIS, THAT THE EMPEROR CÆSAR AUGUSTUS TOOK POSSESSION OF HIS FIRST CONSULSHIP, THAT HE CELEBRATED THREE TRIUMPHS, THAT HE * RECEIVED THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE OF THE LEGIONS THAT OCCUPIED THE JANICULUM, THAT HE REDUCED EGYPT UNDER THE POWER OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE, THAT HE PUT AN END TO ALL CIVIL WARS, IT APPEARS THAT THIS MONTH IS AND HAS BEEN A MOST HAPPY MONTH TO THIS EMPIRE: THE SENATE THEREFORE ORDAINS THAT THIS MONTH SHALL HENCEFORTH BE CALLED AUGUST. This decree of the Senate was ratified by an order of the people.

A tribune of the people devotes himſelf to Auguſtus according to the cuſtom of the Celtes.

Amidſt theſe marks of honour and reſpect, entirely conformable to the ſituation of things, one Sextus Pacuvius, a Tribune of the people, made himſelf remarkable by a piece of flattery carried to exceſs. He declared in full Senate that he was reſolved to devote himſelf to Auguſtus after the manner of the Spaniards, Celtes

* *Thus the Senate diſguiſes and couches in terms no ways odious, Octavius's forcible invaſion of Rome, after raiſing the ſiege of Modena, when irritated againſt the Senate, he turned againſt his country thoſe arms he had been entruſted with to make war againſt Antony. This event ſo fatal to Rome proved happy to Auguſtus: his power commenced with it.*

and

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and Germans, and exhorted the other Senators to imitate his example. This cuſtom has been mentioned before, by which, amongſt thoſe people, a great number of Clients attached their fate to that of ſome great man, and bound themſelves by oath to live and die with him. Auguſtus ſtopped the Tribune's propoſal, but the latter ran to the people aſſembled, and there made an harangue to the ſame effect; after which running from ſtreet to ſtreet, he compelled thoſe he met to devote themſelves with him to Auguſtus. He offered up ſacrifices and made rejoicings on this occaſion, and one day declared in the aſſembly of the people, that he made Auguſtus his heir in equal ſhares with his ſon. As he had nothing, the object of his liberality was rather to receive than give; nor was he diſappointed in his expectations: Auguſtus rewarded his flatteries, and by that ſhewed they were not quite ſo diſagreable to him as he would have had it thought. A.R. 725. bef. C. 27.

Tho' Auguſtus had acquired but this year a legal title to command, yet the people had been uſed to obey him for a long time paſt: ſo that free from thoſe apprehenſions that generally attend a new domination, he was not afraid of being at a diſtance from Rome, but went into Gaul to ſettle the ſtate of affairs there, and fix the adminiſtration of that province on a ſure and laſting foundation. For as Civil Wars had enſued immediately after Cæſar's conqueſt of that great country, the Romans had not had time to eſtabliſh in it that order that reigned in their other provinces, but every thing was in a ferment, and floated between the old government that was to ſubſiſt no longer, and the Auguſtus goes to Gaul,

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A.R. 725. bef. C. 27. new one not yet eſtabliſhed. His firſt ſtep there was to take an account of the number of perſons and what each poſſeſſed, agreable to the cuſtom of the old Romans, and to regulate and impoſe the tribute accordingly. He cauſed the laws and orders by which he would have the province governed to be publiſhed in a general aſſembly held at Narbonne. He made no change in the ancient diviſion of Gaul, except enlarging Aquitania, which before was bounded by the Pyrenean mountains and the Garonne, but was by him extended to the Loire, with the addition of fourteen diſtricts detached from the Celtes.

Strabo, l. IV.

Meſſala's triumph.

Gaul was at peace when Auguſtus arrived there, but had been at war a ſhort time before, as appears by Meſſala's triumph this year. Near Adour and the Pyreneans he had chaſtiſed ſome people not yet accuſtomed to the yoke: but as we have no particular account of his exploits, they might perhaps not be very conſiderable: for Auguſtus made no great difficulty to grant the honours of triumph.

Suet. Aug. 38.

Auguſtus paſſes into Spain.

His deſign in going to Gaul was to croſs over from thence to England: but things ſeeming to take a peaceable turn on that ſide, he marched towards Spain: at Tarragon he took poſſeſſion of his eighth Conſulſhip.

Imp. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus VIII.
T. Statilius Taurus II.

A.R. 726. bef. C. 26. IN Spain Auguſtus was taken up with the ſame cares that had buſied him in Gaul. I cannot ſay whether he ſtaid there the whole year,

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year, or whether he returned to Rome in ſome months. We ſhall find him again in Spain at the end of this ſame year. A.R. 726. bef. C. 26.

Here Dion Caſſius mentions the ruin of Cornelius Gallus, firſt Præfect of Egypt; a man of mean extraction, raiſed by Auguſtus's favour, remarkable for his wit and talents, but whoſe head, as has happened to many others, was turned by proſperity. Finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of a great poſt, and having reduced to obedience ſeveral towns that had revolted, and amongſt others the famous Thebes, with its hundred gates, an idle pride turned his brain. He took a cruel vengeance on that ancient and renowned city, which he plundered, and even deſtroyed entirely. To render his name and glory immortal, he cauſed his exploits to be engraved on the pyramids, and ſtatues to be erected to him all over Egypt. In ſhort, forgetting what he owed to him that had raiſed him from the dirt, and heated with wine and rioting, he would often give his tongue a moſt unbecoming liberty: he even proceeded, according to ſome, ſo far as to conſpire againſt his benefactor and prince: but we are not told what was the purport of that conſpiracy, nor how far it went. Auguſtus recalled him, and ſent Petronius in his ſtead. Fall and tragical Death of Cornelius Gallus. *Freinſhem,* cxxxv. 5.

When Gallus made his appearance again in Rome, one Valerius Largus, who had been his intimate, became his accuſer; and for the crimes he was charged with Auguſtus forbid Gallus the entrance of his palace, and baniſhed him from all the provinces of his department. He was no ſooner fallen into diſgrace, but all his friends forſook him, and accuſers came in on all ſides.

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A.R. 726. bef. C. 26. The Senate took cognizance of the matter, and, more ſevere than the Emperor had been, condemned Gallus to baniſhment, with forfeiture of his whole eſtate. His pride could not bear the ignominy of ſuch a ſentence; he killed himſelf. Auguſtus ſeemed greatly afflicted, and a very fine ſaying is attributed to him on this occaſion, if it was ſincere. "I [a] am the only "one, ſaid he, that is not allowed to be angry "with my friends, to what degree I pleaſe."

Gallus was about forty years old when he periſhed. He was a poet, and his elegies had ſome reputation among the ancients. They have been loſt many ages ſince; and we have no great reaſon to regret them, not only becauſe Quintilian thought the verſification harſh, but on account of the ſubject they treated of, love and gallantry. Virgil was his friend, and dedicated his laſt Eclogue to him; and 'tis ſaid had ended his fourth book of Georgics with an encomium on Gallus. That part was ſtruck out by order of Auguſtus, after his tragical death, and the Epiſode of Ariſtæus ſubſtituted, which makes us ample amends for the panegyric of a man, more eſtimable for his wit, than for the goodneſs of his heart.

Quintil. Inſtit. Rhet. x. 1. *Ovid. Triſt.* 11. *v.* 445. *Serv. ad Ecl.* x.

Thanks returned the gods for this event.

The Senate ordered ſolemn thanks to be returned the gods for the diſcovery and ſuppreſſion of Gallus's conſpiracy, as much as if he had been a public enemy, on ſtopping whoſe plots the ſafety of the ſtate had depended. An example of flattery imitated and amplified under the ſucceeding Emperors.

[a] Conqueſtus eſt, quod ſibi ſoli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irafci. *Suet. Aug.* 66.

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But neither this decree of the Senate, nor the Prince's protection, could ſcreen the accuſer from the hatred of all good men. He was deteſted as a traitor to his friend; and looked upon as a man one could not ſufficiently guard againſt. Proculeius, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, greatly eſteemed by Auguſtus, meeting one day Largus, clapt his hand before his noſe and mouth, to ſignify that it was not ſafe even to breathe in the preſence of ſuch an informer: which would incline one to think Gallus guilty rather of folly and giddineſs than of any thing criminal; for had he really conſpired againſt his Prince, he that detected his ill deſigns would have done the part of a good citizen, and not of a traitor. A. R. 726. bef. C. 26. Public hatred againſt his accuſer.

Gallus's misfortune was not a ſufficient leſſon to Egnatius Rufus, another raſh and little-minded man, who, becauſe he had done the public ſome ſervice in ſome fires that happened whilſt he was Edile, thought himſelf the firſt man of the age, and had the vanity juſt as he was going out of office, to poſt up a writing, declaring the city owed its preſervation to him. This puerile vanity deſerved only to be laughed at, nor did it meet with any other puniſhment. But it ſoon after hurried Egnatius on to audacious and criminal projects, which coſt him his life, as we ſhall ſay in its proper place. Idle vanity of Egnatius Rufus.

Whilſt Agrippa laboured to increaſe Auguſts's glory, he was conſtantly adding to his own: perfect model of a miniſter who ever giving the beſt advices to his Prince, reſerved likewiſe the honour of it for him; and who in the great and magnificent things he undertook either for public uſe or for the ornament of the Agrippa's wife conduct.

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A.R. 728. bef. C. 26. city, was forgetful of himſelf, and ſtudied only how to make the love and regard of the people light on the Emperor himſelf.

Public buildings erected by him. The Julian Parks.

He put the finiſhing hand this year to a great work, projected by Julius Cæſar, conſiderably advanced by Lepidus, but had been left imperfect, being interrupted by the Civil Wars. That was what they called Parks for the uſe of the Tribes and Centuries in the aſſemblies of the people. They have been mentioned elſewhere.* Each Tribe, and each Century repaired to thoſe parks to give their ſuffrages, in a regular order, to avoid the confuſion inſeparable from too great a multitude. At firſt they were only of wood, without covering, 'till Cæſar, whilſt he was making war in Gaul, formed a plan to build them of marble, to cover them in, and raiſe fine large portico's all round. Cicero, who then affected to live with Cæſar on the footing of a friend, was to have preſided over this work with Oppius. We know not how far this project was put in execution by Cæſar. Dion ſays, Lepidus built the body of the work, but only of ſtone. Agrippa added the ornaments, marble incruſtations, carvings and exquiſite paintings. In the ſolemn dedication of this building he called it the Julian Parks; a name which called to mind at the ſame time Cæſar, projector of the work, and Auguſtus by whom it was perfected.

* *Rom. Hiſt. T. v. l.* XVII. §. 11.

Pantheon.

The year following Agrippa finiſhed the Pantheon; a moſt admirable building, ſtill ſubſiſting, and is reckoned by judges a maſterpiece and wonder of architecture. He called it *Pantheon*, which ſignifies *an aſſembly of all the Gods*, either alluding to the great number of divinities

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divinities whoſe repreſentations he placed there, A.R. 726. bef. C. 26.
or to its round form, imitating the vault of heaven, the dwelling place, to ſpeak the heathen language, of all the gods. This temple has been for many ages converted to a better uſe, being conſecrated to the true God, under the invocation of the bleſſed Virgin and all the Saints: its modern name is *Sta Maria della Rotonda.*

Agrippa, as was his conſtant cuſtom, intended for Auguſtus all the honour of this magnificent work, and even propoſed placing there the ſtatue of that Prince amongſt thoſe of the Gods. Auguſtus, incapable of being jealous of ſo faithful a miniſter, and reſolved not to permit divine honours to be paid him within the City, oppoſed Agrippa's deſigns. The ſtatue of Julius Cæſar, long ſince deified, was conſecrated within the Temple. Agrippa placed the ſtatue of Auguſtus and his own in the Veſtibule. His name is preſerved in the inſcription on the frontiſpiece, in theſe words, M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT; that is to ſay, *M. Agrippa, thrice Conſul, built this Temple.*

Other edifices are recorded built by him: Public Baths. Temple of Neptune.
public baths adorned with paintings and ſtatues: a temple of Neptune, monument of his naval victories, where the ſtory of the Argonauts was painted. When ſo many fine works are added to thoſe already mentioned in the hiſtory of the Republic, during the time he was Edile, it muſt be owned that no private man, nor hardly any Emperor, ever had the glory of contributing ſo much as Agrippa did to the embelliſhment of Rome, and the convenience of the inhabitants of that capital of the World.

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A.R.726. bef. C. 26. The temple of Janus re-opened. *Oroſ.* VI. 21. *Dio.*

Auguſtus, in his eighth Conſulſhip, opened again the Temple of Janus, on account of different wars, the moſt important of which was with the Aſturians and Cantabrians in Spain. He had thought again of marching againſt the Britons, who, after ſeeming diſpoſed to acknowledge his laws, had taken a different turn, and refuſed to ſubmit to the conditions he propoſed. But the motions of the Salaſſi at the foot of the Alps, and of the Spaniards juſt mentioned, ſeemed objects of greater conſequence. He ſent Terentius Varro Muræna againſt the Salaſſi; and taking the Spaniſh war to himſelf, entered on his ninth Conſulſhip at Tarragon.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS IX.
M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

A.R.727. bef. C. 25. The Salaſſi conquered. Aoſta founded.

THE war againſt the Salaſſi required neither great efforts nor much time: Varro Muræna finiſhed it in one campaign, in which, after ſome ſlight advantages, he perfected by treachery a victory began by force. Under pretence of levying the contributions the conquered had ſubmitted to, he diſtributed troops over all the country, who ſeized on the unfortunate Salaſſi when they leaſt expected it. Forty four thouſand were made priſoners, of which eight thouſand able to bear arms. They were all carried to Eporedia,* a Roman Colony, and there ſold with this expreſs condition, that they ſhould be carried into remote countries, and not allowed to gain their freedom before the expiration of twenty years. A Colony was ſettled in the country to keep the inhabitants in awe: three

Strabo, l. IV.
** Yvrée.*

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three thouſand ſoldiers of the Prætorian Cohorts ſettled in the place where Varro Muræna's camp had been, and the new town was called Auguſta Prætoria; now Aoſta, capital of the dutchy of that name. A. R. 727; bef. C. 25.

As Varro Muræna was only the Emperor's Lieutenant, the honour of his victory belonged to Auguſtus. On account of this victory, and of ſome trifling exploits of M. Vinciuſ againſt ſome Germans who had killed ſome Roman merchants that had come into their country to trade, the Senate ordered a triumphal arch with trophies to be erected in honour of Auguſtus on a ſummit of the Alps. It was executed, but not till ſome years after, as appears by the inſcription preſerved in * Pliny. It is ſaid the ruins of this monument are ſtill to be ſeen near Monaco, in a village called *Torpia*, a name poſſibly derived from a corruption of the word *Tropæa*. Triumphal arch and trophies erected on the ſummit of the Alps. *Plin.* III. 20. *Cluv. Ital. Ant. l.* 9.

Auguſtus met with more difficulties in the Spaniſh war: he even ſucceeded but badly whilſt he commanded his army in perſon. For the Cantabrians, an active brave people, harraſſed him continually by ſudden attacks, ſometimes on one part of his troops, ſometimes on another: nor could he gain any deciſive advantage over them, becauſe they kept cloſe to their mountains, into which they had always a ſafe retreat. The fatigue he underwent and the

* *Amongſt the people there named as ſubdued by the Roman arms, are ſome who were not conquered till the year* 737, *ſuch as the Camunians and the Vennoneti by P. Silius, the Breuni and the Genauni by Druſus. Beſides, the title of High Prieſt is given Auguſtus in that inſcription; and he had it not till* 739, *twelve years after the time here ſpoken of.*

vexation

A.R. 727. bef. C. 25. vexation he felt at not ſucceeding, added to a bad habit of body, obliged him to retire to Tarragon; the Barbarians, emboldened by the Emperor's abſence, ventured to give the Romans battle, and were defeated: Antiſtius, Furnius, even Agrippa, were employed to ſubdue that fierce people, from whom they took ſeveral towns, and purſued them thro' their moſt rugged mountains. Whilſt they were thus vigorouſly puſhed by land, a Roman fleet harraſſed their coaſts by frequent deſcents. At length, forced to fly for ſhelter to mount * Medullius, they were ſurrounded without a poſſibility of eſcaping: there finding themſelves attacked on all ſides, that ſtubborn people, rather than ſurrender to the enemy, choſe moſt of them to kill themſelves by the ſword, by fire, or by a poiſon extracted from the yew-tree, or from an herb like parſley, which they preſerved as a reſource againſt any reverſe of fate, becauſe it made them die without pain. Mothers ſmothered their children to ſave them from captivity; and amongſt thoſe who were taken, a young boy was obſerved, who having found a ſword, killed his brothers and all his relations, by his father's order. In like manner a woman killed all that were priſoners with her.

Strabo. l. III.

This haughty nation being at laſt ſubdued by ſo many loſſes, Auguſtus, to ſoften their ferocity, forced them to leave their mountains, where they grew only more ſavage; and having ſold part of the priſoners, required hoſtages from thoſe he left in the country, and fixed their abode in the plains.

* *This mountain, according to Oroſius, commands the Minho.*

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The Aſturians defended themſelves with almoſt as much obſtinacy as the Cantabrians; and Cariſus, Auguſtus's Lieutenant, had great difficulty to ſubdue them. When by the loſs of a battle and of Lincia their chief town, they were forced to ſurrender, the conqueror treated them as their neighbours had been. He carried them into the plain and forced them to cultivate their lands and work their mines: for they had mines of gold, *minium*, or vermillon, and other valuable ores. Thus [a] the Aſturians were taught to know the riches of their country by ſtrangers, to whom the profit accrued. A. R. 727. bef. C. 25.

This was Auguſtus's laſt exploit: from this time we ſhall find him no more at the head of his armies. He was not a warrior by taſte or inclination, and if his youth was ſpent in arms, it was only from a neceſſity of ſo doing in order to accompliſh his ambitious views, and raiſe himſelf to that high rank he at laſt attained. Henceforth he made all his glory conſiſt in governing well the vaſt empire of which he was head; and was ſo little deſirous to extend its boundaries, or to add to his own fame by obtaining new victories, that he avoided war with the Barbarians bordering on the Roman territories, with as much care as the old Roman Generals uſed to ſeek it. Far from wanting to provoke them, he often made their Princes and Ambaſſadors ſwear ſolemnly, faithfully to keep peace with him; and that he might be ſure of it, made them give in hoſtage young girls, having found their attachment was greater to

His inclination for peace.

[a] Sic Aſtures, latentes in profundo opes ſuas atque divitias, dum aliis quærunt, noſſe cœperunt. *Flor.*

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A.R. 727. bef. C. 25. their daughters than to their ſons. He had however wars to make, eſpecially againſt the Germans, but they were only defenſive on his ſide, at leaſt in their beginnings, and he conducted them by his Lieutenants.

He even declined the high honours of a triumph which [b] the ſenate decreed him for the reduction of the Salaſſi, the Cantabrians and Aſturians. He was already ſo great that a triumph could not add to his glory.

Spain pacified after two hundred years of war.

What gave him a great ſatisfaction was to have entirely pacified Spain after two hundred years of almoſt continual war: for from the time of Cn. Scipio's entrance into Spain, in the firſt year of the ſecond Punic war, that great country had never been at peace; but had even much alarmed the Romans by the defeat and death of the two Scipio's, by the war of Variathus, of Numantium and of Sertorius, not to mention Cæſar's two expeditions, one againſt the Lieutenants and the other againſt the children of Pompey. Auguſtus, fond of peace, was therefore greatly pleaſed to have re-eſtabliſhed it in ſo tumultuous a country, and on this occaſion [c] cloſed a ſecond time the gates of the temple of Janus.

Spain enjoyed peace and quiet from this time: and [c] that country, before the theatre of ſo many bloody wars, was now a ſtranger even to incurſions of robbers. So ſays Velleius,

[b] Digna res Iauro digna curru Senatui viſa eſt: ſed jam Cæſar tantus erat, ut poſſet triumphos contemnere. *Flor.*

[c] Has provincias ad eam pacem perduxit Cæſar Auguſtus, ut quæ maximis bellis nunquam vacaverant, eæ etiam latrociniis vacarent. *Vell.* II. 90.

and

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and his expreſſion, tho' ſavouring a little of the Orator, yet admits of no exception, unleſs it be one revolt of the Cantabrians, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. A.R. 727. bef. C. 25.

Auguſtus having put a happy end to the war with Spain, diſbanded ſuch of his ſoldiers as had ſerved their time, and to reward them for their labours founded a town on the Guadiana, and called it *Auguſta Emerita*. This colony, adorned by him with ſtately buildings, a long and magnificent bridge over the Guadiana, and two Aqueducts, was a long time the capital of Luſitania. For many ages paſt it has been fallen from its ancient ſplendor, and is now *Merida* in the Caſtillian Eſtramadura. Merida founded.

To celebrate his victory, Auguſtus had ſhews exhibited in his camp; on which occaſion his nephew Marcellus, and his ſon-in-law Tiberius, both very young, performed the functions of Ediles.

He was introducing Marcellus into the world as quick as he could, conſidering him as the hope of his houſe, and one whom he intended to make the firſt and chief ſupport of his authority. As he had no ſon, he deſtined Marcellus to ſucceed him; and, to bring him the nearer his own perſon, gave him this year in marriage his only daughter Julia. He was ſo intent on concluding this match, that when retained in Spain by illneſs, of which he had violent and fatiguing relapſes all that time, he would not ſuffer them to wait his return for the celebration of their nuptials. Agrippa preſided in his abſence and in his name. Auguſtus marries his nephew Marcellus to his daughter Julia.

One may ſee by this commiſſion given to Agrippa, that Auguſtus did not neglect his friend His regard for Agrippa.

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A.R. 727. bef. C. 25. friend whilſt he was providing for his nephew. He added another proof of his regard for that great man, by lodging him with him in his palace, when Agrippa's own houſe had been burnt down.

Memorable act of filial piety.

Such were the principal events of Auguſtus's ninth conſulſhip: I omit ſome immaterial tranſactions, but think I ought not to paſs over in ſilence the filial piety of a Tribune, whom Dion Caſſius calls C. Toranius, who, tho' ſon of a freeman, at a public ſpectacle made his father take the place of honour next him; for which he was applauded by the people. who rightly judged nobility of ſentiments preferable to that of birth.

Auguſtus was continued Conſul for the tenth time.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS X.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

A.R. 728. bef. C. 24. UNDER his tenth Conſulſhip the Senate diſpenſed him from an obſervation of all the laws. It was prepared and brought about in this manner.

Auguſtus diſpenſed from obſerving the laws.

Auguſtus, being always out of order, could not come to Rome time enough to take poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. When ready to arrive there, he ſent before him an Ordonnance by which he promiſed the people, on account of his return, a liberality of four hundred ſeſterces a man, provided the Senate approved of it; at the ſame time poſitively forbidding this declaration to be fixed up any where until the Senate ſhould have veſted him with his authority. The firſt and chief ſpeakers knew doubtleſs what they

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they were to ſay, and took this opportunity to get granted, not only the permiſſion he deſired, but likewiſe an univerſal diſpenſation from the ties of all Laws, ſo that he ſhould never be obliged to do what he did not like, nor to leave undone what he choſe to do. A. R. 728. bef. C. 24.

Prerogatives and privileges beyond the reſt of the citizens, were not confined to the Prince alone, but were granted to his family likewiſe. When Auguſtus was returned to Rome, after the rejoicings, feſtivals, and thanks to the gods for his return, the Senate granted Marcellus the right of voting in the rank of ancient Prætor, and enabled him to be created Conſul ten years before the age preſcribed by law. Prerogatives granted Marcellus and Tiberius.

It was little thought then that Tiberius would ever come to the rank to which circumſtances of things afterwards raiſed him. But it was a diſtant reſource, which Auguſtus took care to preſerve. He obtained of the Senate in his favour a diſpenſation of five years, as to the age required in ſuch as hold any offices, and had him made Quæſtor at the ſame time that Marcellus was named Curule Edile.

As the power and privileges of Auguſtus encreaſed, the citizens ſeemed to be more and more eſtranged from the Republic, and began not to be fond of offices, now diveſted of great part of their ſplendor and authority. This year there was not a ſufficient number of Quæſtors for the Provinces: the Senate was obliged to exert its authority, and order thoſe who had been Quæſtors the laſt ten years, and had never been ſent to any of the Provinces, to draw lots to fill up the preſent vacancies. Some years Want of Quæſtors for the Provinces.

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A. R. 728. bef. C. 24. after a regulation of the ſame nature was obliged to be made to fill up the poſts of Tribunes.

Dion places about this time Elius Gallus's expedition to Arabia Fælix. This expedition is remarkable for being the firſt and only one the Romans ever attempted againſt that country. The ſucceſs they met with in this did not tempt them to try a ſecond.

Elius Gallus's unfortunate expedition to Arabia. *Strabo l.* XVI. *& Dio.*

Elius Gallus, who commanded in this expedition, tho' only a Roman Knight, made great preparations both by ſea and land. There was no occaſion for ſuch with the enemies he was going againſt. The Arabians were then, as they are now, a vagabond ill-armed people: they had only the bow, ſword, lance, ſling and hatchet. Their courage and diſcipline was yet worſe than their arms; for in a great battle they loſt ten thouſand men, and killed only two Romans.

But the country was its own defence. The hot burning climate made their marches very difficult and tormenting to the Romans; the ſcarcity of proviſions, badneſs of the waters, and diſtempers, the neceſſary conſequences of ſo many inconveniencies, were extremely prejudicial to the Romans. They were attacked with the ſcurvy, and a kind of paralitic weakneſs in the legs; diſtempers unknown to them, and for which they had no remedy at hand. Oil drank in wine, or applied by way of fomentation to the parts affected, relieved them moſt: but they had brought only ſmall quantities with them, and the country did not afford any.

Treachery, a vice the Arabs have always been noted for, conſpired likewiſe to ruin the Romans.

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Romans. Gallus confided in one Syllæus, a Nabatean Arab, who perſuaded him to undertake a perilous navigation, under pretence the roads were impracticable by land, tho' at the ſame time the caravans (for even ſo far back they were in uſe in that country) went that road every day without danger or difficulty. He afterwards led them thro' the worſt roads, ſuch as he thought moſt fit to deſtroy the Roman army, and by ſuch round-about ways, that Gallus, on his return back, croſſed in ſixty days that part of the country that had taken up ſix months travelling when guided by Syllæus. A.R. 728. bef. C. 24.

In ſhort, after twelve months of hardſhips and miſeries, this unhappy army (that had not even beheld the ſpicy regions, having ſtopt two days ſhort of them,) returned to Egypt with the loſs of only ſeven men killed in fight, but the reſt utterly deſtroyed and ruined by ſickneſs and hunger. Thus were the Romans puniſhed for their covetouſneſs; * the report of the riches and ſpices of Arabia having been the motive that carried them thither, and brought on them this dreadful diſaſter, inſtead of the treaſures they expected to find.

War with Candaces Queen of Ethiopia. *Strabo, l.* XVII. *Dio. l.* LIV.

This attempt of the Romans to carry the war into Arabia, brought on them another with the Ethiopians. For Elius Gallus having, for this expedition, left the upper Egypt and Thebais unprovided of troops, the Ethiopians

* Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis, & acrem militiam paras
Non antè devictis Sabæis
Regibus. HOR. *Od.* I. 29.

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A.R. 728. taking that advantage forced *Syæna, Elephan-
Ant. C. 24. tinum and Philes, committed great waſte in the country, carried off a conſiderable booty, and demoliſhed the Emperor's ſtatues where-ever they found them. Petronius, Præfect of Egypt, thought he could not leave this inſult unpuniſhed, but getting together ſpeedily ten thouſand men, marched againſt the enemy, who, to the number of thirty thouſand, ran away at the firſt tidings of his approach.

Theſe were ſtill more wretched troops than thoſe of the Arabians: the Ethiopians had huge bucklers of raw hides; and as to offenſive arms, ſome few had ſwords, but the greater part either hatchets or long poles, probably headed with iron.

Such ſoldiers were not formed to reſiſt the Romans: they ventured however a battle, the deciſion of which could not be long doubtful, and in which the Ethiopians made more uſe of their legs than of their arms and hands. The conqueror, Petronius, penetrated into their country as far as Napata, capital of the dominions of Queen Candaces. She had loſt one eye, but her courage was ſuch that ſhe kept a great part of Ethiopia ſubject to her laws. She had retired to a neighbouring fort, from whence ſhe ſent to make overtures of peace; Petronius, bent on revenge, would not liſten to them, but took and plundered the royal city of Napata.

But he was then nine hundred miles diſtant from Syæna, and was told, that if he attempted

* *Syæna was a town on the Nile, exactly under the Tropic of Cancer. Elephantinum and Philes were not far diſtant.*

to

to go farther up the country, he would meet with nothing but ſandy deſarts: on which he reſolved to return, leaving a garriſon of four hundred men, and proviſions for two years, in Premnis, a town ſituate on the Nile, below the great Cataract. A.R. 728. bef. C. 24.

Candaces levied freſh troops, and attempted to take Premnis again: Petronius was diligent on his Side, and prevented her: but at laſt finding the Romans could get nothing by this war, he was the more eaſily induced to enter into a negociation with the Queen, who, on her ſide, finding what enemies ſhe had to deal with, renewed her ſollicitations to obtain peace. When Candaces was told ſhe muſt ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar, ſhe aſked who Cæſar was, and where he lived? Guides were given to conduct the Ethiopian Ambaſſadors, who were favourably received by Auguſtus. He readily granted their Queen peace, and even exempted her from the tribute Petronius had impoſed on her.

This embaſſy found Auguſtus at Samos, whither he went in the year 730 of Rome. Wherefore we are now to reſume the events of his eleventh Conſulſhip, which happened in the year 729.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS XI. A.R. 729. bef. C. 23.
A. TERENTIUS VARRO MURÆNA.
And after the abdication or death of the latter,
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

TErentius Varro Muræna, the firſt of theſe two Collegues of Auguſtus, is the ſame that conquered the Salaſſi three years before.

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A.R. 729. bef. C. 23. He did not enjoy that poſt long, and on its becoming vacant, either by his abdication, or, which is more likely, his death, Auguſtus had for Collegue Cn. Piſo, who had been one of the greateſt and moſt inveterate enemies of the grandeur of the Cæſars. Piſo had ſignalized his zeal for the Republic in the war that Scipio and Cato renewed in Africa againſt Cæſar, after the battle of Pharſalia: after that he adhered to Brutus and Caſſius, and when theſe two laſt defenders of the Roman liberty were dead, he obtained leave to return to Rome: but ſtill preſerving all his haughtineſs of mind, would never ſtoop to aſk any employment: Auguſtus was forced to make the firſt advances, and deſire he would be pleaſed to accept of the Conſulſhip.

The Conſul Piſo had been one of the moſt zealous defenders of the Roman liberty. *Tac. Ann.* II. 43.

Marcellus held the office of Curule Edile this year, having been named to it the year before. Auguſtus ſpared nothing that might add to the magnificence of the games given by the new Edile, his nephew and ſon-in-law; only it were to be wiſhed he had ſo far reſpected the rules of decency and decorum, as not to have thought of adding to the luſtre of thoſe games, by making a Roman Knight and a lady of diſtinction dance on the ſtage.

Marcellus Edile. *Dio. l.* LIII.

He likewiſe, in Marcellus's name, procured the people a new convenience, by covering the forum with tilts during the great heats of ſummer. Nothing of the kind had ever been done before, unleſs ſometimes when games were exhibited, or for very great feſtivals. Auguſtus let this ſhelter remain the whole ſummer, for the convenience of all that had buſineſs in the forum, and eſpecially the pleaders, which, ſays

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ſays Pliny, [a] would hardly have been approved of by Cato the Cenſor, who would rather have wiſhed it paved with ſharp pointed flints. A. R. 729. bef. C. 23.

For a long time Auguſtus had been in declining way, and had but very ſhort intervals of health, interrupted by frequent relapſes. He had one this year which brought him near the grave. Not thinking he could recover, he ſent for the magiſtrates, chief of the Senators, and of the order of Knights, and in their preſence gave the Conſul Piſo the general regiſter of the Empire, that is to ſay the ſtate of the public revenues and expences, the number of ſea and land forces the Republic had, and inſtructions concerning whatever elſe related to the government. He named no one to ſucceed him, perhaps not thinking his power ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to be reſpected after his death: only he gave his ring to Agrippa: This preference ſhocked Marcellus extremely, and every body wondered at it; for none had hitherto doubted but he deſigned his nephew to ſucceed him. Auguſtus dangerouſly ill, names no ſucceſſor, but gives his ring to Agrippa. *Suet. Aug.* 81 & 28. *Dio.*

The ſkill or good fortune of a phyſician ſaved Auguſtus from death, and the Empire from the confuſion it ſeemed ready to fall into: as the ordinary way of treating his diſtemper had no effect, Antonius Muſa ventured the cold bath, cooling drinks, and lettice: with the help of theſe he conquered the diſorder that hitherto had reſiſted every remedy. Auguſtus not only recovered, but from that time had a better ſtate of health than ever, being after- Antonius Muſa, phyſician, cures him by cold baths. *Plin.* XIX. 8.

[a] Quantum mutatis moribus Catonis Cenſorii, qui muricibus cenſuerat. *Plin.* XIX. 1. ſternendam quoque forum

A.R. 729. bef. C. 23. wards ſubject only to ſlight indiſpoſitions, inſeparable from a tender conſtitution. The phyſician was rewarded in proportion to the ſervice he had done: beſides large ſums of money, Auguſtus gave him the right of wearing a gold ring, by that means raiſing him from the ſtation of a freeman, which he was, to the rank of Roman Knight. He likewiſe exempted him from payment of all tributes, and, which muſt have been highly pleaſing to a man zealous to do honour to his profeſſion, the Emperor extended that privilege to all phyſicians preſent and to come. The Senate concurred with Auguſtus in granting thoſe honours to Antonius Muſa, and the citizens taxed themſelves to erect a ſtatue to him near to that of Eſculapius: a monument that did more honour to the Emperor, than it did even to him for whom it was made.

Suet. Aug. 59.

Removal of Agrippa, who gave umbrage to Marcellus. *Vell.* II. 93. *Suet. Aug.* 66. *Dio.*

Auguſtus's recovery was ſoon followed by the removal of Agrippa. That great man, ſo long accuſtomed to hold the firſt rank next the Emperor, could not conceal his diſlike of the elevation and expectations of Marcellus; whilſt Marcellus, nephew to Auguſtus, could not brook being balanced by Agrippa. Doubtleſs their rivalſhip became more apparent at the time the Prince was ſo ill; and the particular confidence Auguſtus, when thought dying, had ſhewn Agrippa, carried Marcellus's diſſatisfaction to the greateſt height. Auguſtus having recovered his health, thought himſelf obliged to give up Agrippa. One may imagine he could not take this reſolution without regret: at leaſt he endeavoured to colour his old friend's diſgrace, with a ſpecious appearance

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ance of honour, and made him governor of Syria, one of the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing Provinces of the Empire. Agrippa not only was not deceived in this, but ſpoke his mind freely and openly, calling it an honourable exile; and diſdaining to put on the maſk that was offered him to cover his diſgrace, he affected on the contrary to ſhew it, by ſending only his Lieutenants to Syria, whilſt himſelf retired to Mitylenum, to live like a private man. A.R. 729. bef. C. 23.

He who had been the cauſe of his fall did not long enjoy the ſatisfaction of having removed ſo formidable a rival. Young Marcellus, ſcarce twenty years old, nephew and ſon-in-law to the Emperor, and deſtined to ſucceed him, in the midſt of all theſe gaudy hopes was taken with a mortal ſickneſs; and the ſame means that had ſaved Auguſtus, employed by the ſame phyſician, haſtened, or at leaſt did not prevent the death of Marcellus. Marcellus's death.

He was extremely regretted by the people, whoſe love and eſteem he had deſerved and acquired by his good conduct, affability and popularity; they had even flattered themſelves, that if he became maſter, he would one day reſtore the Republican liberty; ſtill the fond object of every Roman's wiſhes, and which was not till long after entirely eraſed from their hearts and memories. He is infinitely regretted. *Tac. Ann.* II. 41.

Seneca beſtows the higheſt character on this young nephew of Auguſtus. He [b] gives him

[b] Adoleſcentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem, ſed & frugalitatis continentiæque in illis aut annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandum, patientem laboris, voluptatibus alienum, quantumcunque imponere illi avunculus, &, ut ita dicam, inædificare voluiſſet, laturum. *Sen. Conſol. ad Marc. c. 2.*

A.R. 729. bef. C. 23. a noble and undaunted courage, a great genius, a degree of temperance and moderation admirable in one ſo young and in ſo high a ſtation; patience in labour, an indifference for pleaſure; in ſhort, talents equal to the great and important taſk his uncle deſigned him for.

Lines of Virgil on his death.

Every one is acquainted with thoſe fine lines where Virgil deplores his death. What a great and noble idea does he give of that young hero, when he ſays, [b] "The fates only ſhewed him "to the world, and inſtantly ſnatched him "thence, the gods apprehending the Roman "root would ſtrike too deep ſhould he be left "in poſſeſſion of what they had given him." One would be apt to ſuſpect this encomium of flattery; but weighing Seneca's character of Marcellus, and laying aſide the poetic turn, we ſhall find the cotemporary poet does not ſay more than the philoſopher, who wrote at a time when he could not be intereſted.

Theſe lines of Virgil are full of ſorrow mixed with the greateſt majeſty; and one may readily believe what his commentator ſays, that when the poet read them to Auguſtus and Octavia, tears dropped from his eyes, and ſobs often interrupted his reading, and hardly ſuffered him to proceed.

Serv. ad Virg. Æn. l. VI. v. 861.

No wonder Octavia was greatly moved at theſe lines of Virgil, nor that ſhe rewarded them liberally. She loved her ſon beyond expreſſion, and mourned for him all her life.

Sue.

[b] Oſtendent terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
Eſſe ſinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
Viſa potens, Superi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent.
VIRG. *Æn.* VI.

Auguſtus

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Auguſtus too was ſorely afflicted at this loſs: he ordered pompous funerals for his nephew, but above all they were graced with the tears and lamentations of the people. Himſelf pronounced his funeral oration, and to perpetuate his memory gave the name of Marcellus to a grand theatre began by Cæſar, and finiſhed by him. He induced the Senate to decree him a ſtatue of gold, with a crown of the ſame metal; and the magiſtrates who were to preſide at the Roman games were ordered to place that ſtatue between them in a Curule chair, that Marcellus, even after his death, might ſtill ſeem to preſide with them over thoſe ceremonies. A. R. 729. bef. C. 23. Honours done his memory by Auguſtus. *Dio.*

Notwithſtanding all theſe marks of grief in Auguſtus, ſome moderns have not ſcrupled to ſuſpect him of having partaken in the death of Marcellus. They quote Pliny and Tacitus, whoſe expreſſions they ſtrain beyond their meaning. Pliny ſays, [a] the object of Marcellus's wiſhes (which were probably to reſtore the old Republican form of government) were diſpleaſing to his uncle. Tacitus expreſſing the peoples uneaſineſs, on account of Germanicus, introduces the citizens reminding one another of the melancholy examples of Marcellus and Druſus, both univerſally beloved, and both taken off by an untimely death: which draws on this reflection, [b] that the nation's love ſeems to bring misfortunes on ſuch as are the object of it; that their life is of ſhort duration. But is it right for a few random words, and thoſe

'Tis unjuſtly ſome moderns have ſuſpected Auguſtus of having partaken in his nephew's death. *Lipſ. ad. Tac. Ann. l.* 3.

[a] Suſpecta Marcelli vota. PLIN. VII. 45.
[b] Breves & infauſtos populi Romani amores. TAC. *Ann.* II. 41.

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A.R. 729. bef. C. 23. ſuſceptible of another interpretation, to accuſe Auguſtus of the moſt atrocious crime, he who is known to have been ſo remarkably fond of all his family?

Suſpicions againſt Livia are not proved.

As to Livia, Dion expreſly mentions the bad reports that were ſpread concerning her: many thought ſhe had a hand in the death of Marcellus, who was an obſtacle to her ambitious projects. It cannot be denied that ſhe was a moſt ambitious woman, and ſtrongly bent on promoting her own children; but, ſhould that ambition induce her to commit a crime, which, if diſcovered, muſt ruin her for ever? Such talk is generally the conſequence of the death of great men; and if it be ſilly to refuſe to credit a bad thing when fully proved, it is ſurely very malignant to believe it on the ſlighteſt grounds. The very ſeaſon, which proved extremely unhealthy, and was fatal not only to Marcellus, but to a great many others, ſeems to conſpire to clear Livia from any ſuch accuſation.

Auguſtus's care to appeaſe Agrippa.

Auguſtus's firſt care, after Marcellus's death, was to appeaſe Agrippa, whom he had not removed from his perſon without great reluctance, and who was now become more neceſſary to him than ever. It was probably for this reaſon that he carried his will to the Senate, to read it in preſence of the whole aſſembly; but being prevented by all the Senators, who deſired him not to do it, he at leaſt inſiſted on letting them know he had appointed no one to ſucceed him. This reſerve was pleaſing to the whole nation, but above all, it ſhewed his regard for Agrippa, between whom and Marcellus he had not taken any party. He was, how-

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however, in no hurry to recall him, perhaps not to shew too plainly the true cause of his removal, nor to acknowledge publickly that he had sacrificed him to Marcellus's jealousies. A.R. 729. Bef. C. 23.

Eight years had now passed since the battle of Actium, and people were quite accustomed to acknowledge a legal right of command in Augustus, and to obey him as the supreme head of the Republic; for which reason the Consulship, necessary whilst his personal authority was not firmly established, appeared to him now of no other use than to resign it, to acquire with the multitude the merit of moderation. He resigns the Consulship.

I say with the multitude, for men of sense could not fail to see that, by resigning the Consulship, and continuing to govern, Augustus in fact declared the right of command resident in his own person, and independent of that title which hitherto had denoted the supreme magistracy among the Romans.

He was careful, however, not to betray any such design: he resigned the Consulship as being a burthen, and to open access to it for a greater number of citizens. These reasons were not of the unanswerable kind: his desires met with opposition, and he was strongly pressed to accept of the Consulship for the twelfth time. But his resolution was taken, and to avoid their importunities he retired to his country seat at Alba, and from thence sent his demission.

Part of his eleventh Consulship was not yet expired: he pitched on a person, whose choice did him very great honour, to finish it: that was L. Sestius, who had been Quæstor to Brutus at the time of the battle of Philippi, and still held Makes an old and faithful friend of Brutus his successor in the Consulship.

A.R. 729. held moſt dear the memory of his unfortunate
bef. C. 23. General, keeping with great care his picture, which he one day ſhewed Auguſtus, ſpeaking of him with ſingular veneration, and expreſſing on all occaſions his high eſteem and admiration of his virtues. The Emperor's equity, who, far from regarding that inviolable attachment to the memory of his enemy as a cauſe for hatred or revenge, rewarded him with the moſt diſtinguiſhed poſt, charmed every one, and eſpecially the Senate, who ſtill retained ſome value for the old defenders of the republican government.

New privileges and titles of authority given Auguſtus by the Senate.

This was an additional motive to the Senate to be the more diſpoſed to replace, by new titles, that which Auguſtus had thus reſigned. They therefore decreed him, and he accepted for life, the power of Tribune, ſeveral times offered him before, and as often refuſed; the power of Pro-conſul out of Rome, likewiſe for life, without ſubjecting him to loſe it on his return into the city, nor to renew it when he went out of it; the right of propoſing one affair to be deliberated on at each meeting of the Senate, even when he ſhould not be Conſul; in ſhort, a pre-eminence of power over the actual governors of whatever provinces he might be in.

His regard for the Senate.

On his ſide he well deſerved the zeal the Senate ſhewed to promote his glory and grandeur, by the regard he himſelf had for that reſpectable body; for he did not determine things by his own pleaſure, but propoſed his plans, exhorting all the Senators to give their opinions freely, and promiſing to pay the greateſt regard to their ſentiments. Nor were thoſe promiſes words only; he would often, in conſequence of what

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what was repreſented to him, alter projects already formed. A.R. 729. bef. C. 23.

He gave the Senate a ſhare in affairs of the greateſt ſplendor. Phraates, by his Ambaſſadors, and Tiridates in perſon, were renewing their ſollicitations to intereſt the Romans in their quarrel: Tiridates requeſted the help of their arms to put him in poſſeſſion of the crown of Parthia, which he had worn ſome time: Phraates, on the contrary, formerly expelled by Tiridates, and ſince reſtored by the Scythians, pretended his enemy ought to be delivered up to him as a rebellious ſlave; and moreover required his ſon to be returned, whom Tiridates had carried away into the Roman territories. Auguſtus ordered Tiridates, and the Ambaſſadors of Phraates, to preſent themſelves at the Senate's audience; nor would he undertake to determine the affair, until it was referred to him by an order of the Senate. Affair of Tiridates and Phraates. See *Rom. Hiſt.* T. XVI. l. III.

He gave ſatisfaction to neither one or t'other of the contending parties. He was by no means diſpoſed to undertake a war againſt the Parthians to oblige Tiridates; nor did he think he ought to give up a ſupplicant Prince, who had fled to him for refuge. As to Phraates's ſon, he agreed to reſtore him to his father, but on condition that Phraates, on his ſide, ſhould give up the priſoners and ſtandards the Parthians had taken from Craſſus and Antony. Phraates was in no hurry to fulfil this condition.

The Conſuls fixed for the next year were M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius: the latter had ſerved Auguſtus well, and in the battle of Actium had the command of the left wing of the fleet.

M. CLAU-

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A.R. 730. bef. C. 22. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS ESERNINUS. L. ARRUNTIUS.

Overflowing of the Tiber. Contagious diſtempers. Dearth.

THIS year, and the end of the laſt, were unfortunate to Rome and Italy: the city was overflowed by the inundations of the Tiber, and all Italy was afflicted with contagious diſtempers, which carried off ſo many as hindered the culture of the lands, ſo that a dearth ſoon enſued.

Dio. l. LIV.

The people offer the Dictatorſhip to Auguſtus, who refuſes it.

The people were not ſatisfied to aſcribe theſe misfortunes to the anger of the Gods, but, ever ſuperſtitious, pretended to gueſs the cauſe, which was, that Auguſtus held no magiſtracy that year. To remedy this inconvenience, ſource of ſo many misfortunes, the mob got together, and inſiſted on his being named Dictator. The Senate was then aſſembled; thither the mob ran; and when the Senators refuſed to come into their meaſures, becauſe they knew better what the Emperor's intentions were, they grew outrageous, and threatened to ſet fire to the Senate-houſe. The Senate was forced to yield, and to name Auguſtus Dictator. The mob, having got the better, ran to preſent the four and twenty Faſces to the new Dictator. Auguſtus perſiſted in refuſing ſo odious a title, which, in fact, could add nothing to the power he was already in poſſeſſion of. He would not however exert his authority to ſtop the impetuoſity of the mob, but rather choſe to have recourſe to entreaties, and kneeling down on one knee, tore his garment before, and preſented his bare neck, ſignifying he would rather have a dagger ſtruck into his throat than be made Dictator.

Suet. Aug. 52.

However,

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However, to give the crowd ſome ſatisfaction, he accepted the ſuperintendance of proviſions, which was offered him at the ſame time, on the ſame footing Pompey had had it before. As the extenſive buſineſs of the Empire could not allow him to enter into a detail of this kind, he ordered two ancient Prætors to be choſen every year, who, under his authority, ſhould take care Rome was properly ſupplied with proviſions, and corn duly diſtributed to the poor citizens. A.R. 730. bef. C. 22. He accepts the ſuperintendance of proviſions.

The Cenſorſhip was likewiſe offered Auguſtus for life, but in conſequence of the ſyſtem of apparent modeſty he had before laid down, he refuſed that dignity: he even went farther, and cauſed Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus to be created Cenſors. He refuſes the Cenſorſhip, and has Cenſors created.

Dion Caſſius obſerves that of theſe two Cenſors, the firſt had been proſcribed (doubtleſs with his father L. Paulus, brother to Lepidus the Triumvir) and the other was brother to a man proſcribed, Plotus, whoſe death has been mentioned in the hiſtory of the Republic. *Perizon. Animadv. Hiſt. c. 3.*

We find in Velleius a more intereſting obſervation on their characters. He ſays, [a] their magiſtracy was carried on in diſcord; that they gained no honour, nor the Republic any advantage by it. Paulus had not the firmneſs requiſite in a Cenſor, nor Plancus the morals: one wanted the ſtrength neceſſary to bear ſuch Character of the two Cenſors.

[a] Cenſura Planci & Pauli, acta inter diſcordiam, neque ipſis honori, neque Reipublicæ uſui fuit: quum alteri vis Cenſoris, alteri vita deeſſet, Paulus vix poſſet implere Cenſorem, Plancus timere deberet, ne quidquam objicere poſſet adoleſcentibus, aut objicientes audire, quod non agnoſcere ſenex. *Vell.* II. 95.

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A. R. 730. bef. C. 22. an office, and the other had reaſon to fear he could not reproach the young people, nor hear them reproached with any thing diſorderly in their conduct, but what might be retorted on himſelf, old as he was. And indeed he was ſo little reſpected, that L. Domitius, a ſimple Edile, happening to meet him, made the Cenſor give him the wall.

Suet. Ner. 4.

The Edile was audacious: but never did Cenſor more richly deſerve an affront. To the ſhameful depravity of his morals, Plancus added, as has been elſewhere obſerved, all the ſervility of the moſt abject flatterer: he even gloried in it, and would ſay, [b] it was wrong to flatter artfully or indirectly. "Your boldneſs "in telling a lie, ſaid he, can be of no ſervice to "you, if it be not perceived: a flatterer never "ſucceeds better than when he is catched in "the fact, and eſpecially if he has been repri-"manded for it, and forced to bluſh." He was a good judge of men, who in general are not very nice about what praiſes are laviſhed on them. But a man muſt ſurely have loſt all ſenſe of ſhame, who can make this principle the rule of his own conduct and of others.

This was the laſt Cenſorſhip held by two private men.

The Cenſors I have been ſpeaking of were the two laſt private men who held that magiſtracy at the ſame time: after them, we either hear no more of it in the Republic, or it remained affected to the Emperors, who however on ſome occaſions, but very ſeldom, were pleaſed to take a private man for their collegue. But,

[b] Plancus aiebet non eſſe occultè, nec ex diſſimulato blandiendum. Perit, inquit, procari, ſi latet. Plurimùm adulator, quum deprehenſus eſt, proficit; plus etiam ſi objurgatus eſt, ſi erubuit. *Sen. Nat. Quæſt.* IV. 1.

without

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without assuming the title, they had all the power, as superintendants and reformers of the laws and manners. A.R. 730. bef. C. 22.

Augustus makes up for the want of capacity in the Censors Paulus and Plancus.

Augustus, at the time I am speaking of, availed himself of that power, to make up for the incapacity of the Censors he had put in place: He introduced several reforms tending to the public good and tranquillity: he subjected to stricter rules, or even abolished entirely, all associations of the bodies of artisans, which had so often been made a handle of to form seditious cabals and dangerous factions: he moderated the expences of shews and games, limiting what sum the Prætors should be allowed to expend, and assigning them out of the public funds wherewith to defray the extraordinary charges: he forbid even magistrates giving combats of gladiators without special leave obtained from the Senate, and that not oftener than twice a year, nor more than sixty couple at a time: a regulation which shews to what height abuses of that kind were carried. He forbid sons and grandsons of Senators, Roman Knights, and women of quality, the indecent liberty of performing on the stage, tho' he had hitherto tolerated and even authorised it on some occasions. And as Egnatius Rufus, when Edile, had given himself great airs in boasting that with his own slaves he had stopped several fires, Augustus, to take away all pretence from such as should be inclined to imitate the rashness of that young man, assigned the Curule Ediles six hundred slaves, to be always ready at their orders whenever a fire should break out in any part of the city.

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A.R.730. Bef. C. 22. His moderation in private life.

Thus did he ſupport the character of head of the Empire and reformer of the public, whilſt his moderation in private life was ſuch as almoſt confounded him with the common people.

Suet. Aug. 51.—56.

At meetings for elections of magiſtrates, he, in perſon, ſollicited in favour of thoſe he intereſted himſelf for, and gave his vote in his diſtrict like a private man.

He often appeared before the courts of juſtice as witneſs, anſwered the magiſtrates interrogatories, would bear to be refuted, ſometimes even with ſharpneſs. Dion Caſſius mentions on this occaſion a thing that happened in the year we are now treating of.

Dio.

One M. Primus being accuſed of having, of his own private authority, made war againſt the Odryſi, a people of Thrace, pleaded the Emperor's orders. Auguſtus, of his own accord, went to the court, and being aſked by the Prætor, anſwered that he gave Primus no ſuch orders. Licinius Muræna, advocate for the accuſed, on this took up Auguſtus with great warmth and haughtineſs, and among other diſobliging things, *What buſineſs have you here?* ſaid he, *What have you to do with this affair? The public intereſt*, anſwered Auguſtus mildly, *which it is not lawful for me to neglect.* It was plain enough what he thought of Primus; yet ſeveral of the judges were of opinion to acquit him.

Suet.

He obſerved moſt punctually the ties and duties of private friendſhip; viſited his friends in their ſickneſs, or when extraordinary events happened in their families, ſuch as marriages, their childrens taking the virile robe, and other things of that nature: nor did he leave that cuſtom

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cuſtom till very late, and after having been much preſſed in the crowd one day at a wedding. A.R. 730. bef. C. 22.

He ſeldom refuſed an invitation to dinner from any body: one day being invited to a very bad dinner, and ill dreſſed, all he ſaid at going away to him that had given this bad repaſt, was, "I did not think we had been ſo "intimate." *Macrob. Sat. II. 4.*

If any of his friends had a ſuit depending, he would ſollicit for them, and be preſent at the judgment. He even gave himſelf that trouble for an old ſoldier, who had ſpoken to him with a liberty another would have been offended at. The ſoldier having a law-ſuit, deſired the Emperor to be preſent at the deciſion of it: Auguſtus told him he was too buſy, and named one of his friends to be there for him. *Cæſar*, ſaid the ſoldier, *when there was occaſion to fight for you I went myſelf, and did not ſend another for me.* Auguſtus, inſtead of being angry, acquieſced under ſo ſtrong a remonſtrance, and went in perſon to the court, to ſhew by his preſence he intereſted himſelf in the ſoldier's cauſe. *Macrob. ibid.*

Tho' he beſtowed much on his friends, yet he did not pretend to raiſe them above the laws, nor to ſtrain juſtice in their favour. Nonius Aſprænas, who was greatly attached to him, being accuſed of poiſon by Caſſius Severus, Auguſtus conſulted the Senate what was to be done, being apprehenſive, ſaid he, that if he backed Nonius with his recommendation, he might ſeem to ſcreen a man accuſed from the rigour of the laws; and if he did not, it might be thought he abandoned a friend, and him- *Suet.*

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A. R. 730. bef. C. 22. self condemned him beforehand. By advice of the Senators he took a middle way: he was present at the judgment, but said nothing; and solicited in favour of Nonius by his presence only. But even this circumspection could not screen him from the accuser's reproaches, who being a man of a violent temper, and ungoverned tongue, complained bitterly that the Emperor's presence saved a criminal deserving the greatest punishments.

Plin. xxv. 12.

The instances of his moderation towards such as behaved disrespectfully towards him, or attacked him in their discourses, or in libels, are infinite. Being disturbed every night by the melancholy noise of an owl at a country house where he chanced to be, he wished to get rid of it. A soldier happened to take the bird alive, and brought it in hopes of a great reward. Augustus ordered him a thousand sesterces (about eight pounds.) The soldier, who expected much more, let the bird go, saying, *I had rather it should live*; yet this insolence went unpunished.

Macrob. Sat. II. 4.

Sen. de Benef. III. 27.

Augustus was equally mild in things of greater moment. Being about to take a journey, a Senator, named Rufus, said at an Entertainment, he wished the Emperor might never return; and joking about the number of victims that used to be sacrificed by way of thanks for his return after a long absence, added, that all the bulls and calves offered up the same prayers that he did. His words were not lost, but carefully treasured up by some of the guests. The next day one of Rufus's slaves reminded his master of what he had said in his drink, and advised him to go to the Emperor and accuse

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accuſe himſelf, before any body elſe could have time to do it. Rufus followed his advice, and running to the palace, preſented himſelf before Auguſtus, ſaying ſome frantic fit had certainly turned his brain at that time: ſwore he beſeeched the gods to let his raſh vow light on his own head, and on his childrens, and praying the Emperor to forgive him. Auguſtus conſented. "Cæſar, ſaid Rufus, no body will "believe you have reſtored me your friend-"ſhip, unleſs you give me a gratification;" and aſked a ſum that would have been no ſmall gift if Auguſtus had really been to reward him. The Prince granted it, adding only with a ſmile, "for my own ſake I will take care not "to be angry with you another time." A.R. 730. bef. C. 22.

Auguſtus however did not always ſlight the odious imputations by which ſome attempted to blacken him: his care for his reputation induced him to refute them, either in diſcourſes pronounced in the Senate, or by declarations publiſhed in his name; but he knew not what it was to take revenge for them: his maxim on thoſe occaſions I ſhall deliver in his own words. Tiberius, who was of a very different character, exhorted him in his letters to revenge himſelf for an inſult of that kind: Auguſtus anſwered him, "My dear Tiberius, [a] do not "give way too much to the vivacity of your "age, and be not ſo angry with thoſe who "ſpeak ill of me: it is enough to prevent their "doing us any."

[a] Ætati tuæ, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere, & nimiùm indignari quemquam eſſe qui de me malè loquatur. Satis eſt enim ſi hoc habemus ne quis nobis malè facere poſſit. *Suet. Aug.* c. 51.

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A.R. 730. bef. C. 22. We have already had a proof of his clemency and generoſity with regard to the memory of Brutus, the greateſt enemy he ever had. Hiſtory affords us a ſecond.

Plutarch. Brut. Being at Milan he obſerved a ſtatue of Brutus, erected by the inhabitants of Ciſalpine Gaul, as a monument of their gratitude towards the mildeſt and moſt juſt of Governors: he paſſed by it, then ſtopping and aſſuming a ſtern look and tone of voice, taxed the chief men of the city with harbouring among them one of his greateſt enemies. The Gauls, afraid, try to juſtify themſelves and deny the fact. *What!* ſays he, turning round, and pointing to the ſtatue of Brutus, *is not that the enemy of my name and family?* Then, ſeeing them confuſed and ſilent, he ſmiled, and with a gracious look commended their faithful attachment to their friends, even in their misfortunes, and let the ſtatue remain.

Macrob. Sat. II. 4. He treated with the ſame equity the memories of all the old defenders of the Roman liberty. One thinking to pleaſe by blaming in his preſence Cato, accuſed that rigid Republican of being intractably obſtinate. "I would "have you to know, ſaid Auguſtus, * that "whoever oppoſes a change in the eſtabliſhed "form of government, is a good citizen and "an honeſt man." Words full of dignity and of ſenſe, by which he did Cato juſtice, and prevented the bad conſequences that might be drawn from his example.

Virgil and Horace were ſenſible therefore they run no riſk of loſing his favour by

* Quiſquis præſentem ſtatum civitatis immutari non volet; & civis & vir bonus eſt.

praiſing

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[b] praiſing Cato as they have done in their works. Livy had heaped encomiums on Pompey in his hiſtory; Auguſtus only laughed at it, and would ſay, that illuſtrious writer was a partiſan of Pompey's: but it did not leſſen his regard for him. A. R. 730. bef. C. 22. *Tac. Ann.* IV. 34.

With ſo much affability and popularity his great regard for the Senators is not to be wondered at. He diſpenſed them from all troubleſome ceremonials, and would not let them come to receive him at his palace, to wait on and conduct him from thence to the Senate: he received their compliments in the Senate-houſe, and returned their ſalutes going in and coming out, calling them by their names. But it was not the Senators only and people of diſtinction that he treated with this mildneſs and affability; he permitted the people in general to pay their court to him, and was acceſſible even to the loweſt of the citizens, receiving their petitions with ſuch good nature as encouraged even thoſe whom reſpect made timid and baſhful.

He would have every one enjoy his rights, and rather choſe to make the ſquare he built in Rome leſs, than to force the owners of the houſes he wanted to make it larger to ſell them.

The title of *Lord* and *Maſter* was always an object of deteſtation with him, becauſe it was relative to the name of *Slave*. Being one day at a play, in which part of a verſe was repeated,

[b] Secretoſque pios, his dantem jura Catonem. VIRG. *Æn.* VIII. 670.

Et cuncta terrarum ſubacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.
HOR. *Od.* II. 1.

A.R.730. bef. C. 22. signifying, *O the good master, O the master full of equity*, all the people turning towards him with applause, applied those words to him. Augustus, with a look and gesture full of indignation, instantly rejected the low flattery, and the next day severely reprimanded the people by an order posted up in the Forum. From that time he would not allow his children nor grand-children ever to give him that appellation, neither seriously, nor even in play: and forbid them to use among themselves any of those insignificant softnesses that a servile and mistaken politeness was beginning to introduce.

His successors were not so difficult: the bad ones, Tiberius excepted, not content with the name of *Master*, affected even that of *God*: and at last the good ones suffered a title to be given them that custom had established. Pliny, in all his letters to Trajan, never calls him any thing but *Domine*, *Lord*, *Master*.

If Augustus, for political reasons elsewhere explained, suffered divine honours to be paid him in the Provinces, he was not fond of it, and would often laugh at them. The people of Tarragon coming to acquaint him, as of a fortunate and happy omen, that a palm-tree had sprung up on the altar raised to him in their city, "I see by that, answered he, smiling, how careful you are to burn incense on "my altar."

By the instances we have related, and the circumstances of some of them, not quite conformable to the dignity of sovereign majesty, may be seen how true is what we have laid down concerning the nature of the authority Augustus was invested with. It is plain he did not

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not pretend himself to be Sovereign, and that he never was more than First Magistrate and Chief of the Republic. A.R. 730. bef. C. 22.

So mild and equitable a government was not however without its conspiracies: so much is novelty in things of that moment odious in itself, and never fails to draw dangers at least upon its authors. Several conspiracies were formed against Augustus, during the course of his reign. That I am now going to speak of, because it happened under the Consulship of Marcellus and Arruntius, was broached by Fannius Cæpio, whom we know nothing more of, unless it be that Velleius describes him as a bad man, and fit for such a plot: of his accomplices, history takes notice only of Licinius Muræna, of whom we made mention, speaking of the judgment of M. Primus, and who, tho' in other respects he had tolerable good qualities, ruined himself by the intemperance of his tongue and character. Conspiracy of Fannius Cæpio and Muræna discovered and punished. *Vell.* II. 91.

Their bad designs were discovered by one Castricius: but Mecænas, who was too fond of his wife Terentia, sister to Muræna, could not keep the secret from her, and on the intimation she gave her brother, the guilty fled. *Suet. Aug.* c. 66.

They were proceeded against for contumacy; and Tiberius undertaking to be their accuser, and having prosecuted them as guilty of high treason, they were condemned, though absent. Proculeius, brother to Muræna, though greatly esteemed by Augustus, and renowned for his love towards his brothers, could not, with all his credit, obtain pardon in an affair where the safety of the Prince's person was concerned. *Suet. Tib.* c. 8.

The

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A.R. 730. bef. C. 22. The Roman laws puniſhed the greateſt crimes only with baniſhment; but the Emperor's military power prevented the criminals profiting by the exceſſive indulgence of the laws: they were diſcovered in their places of retreat, and put to death.

Strabo. l. xii. Their crime, however, was fatal to none but themſelves. The philoſopher Athenæus, friend to Muræna, fugitive with him, and taken at the ſame time, had only the trouble of juſtifying himſelf; and having proved his innocence, was left at peace and freedom.

Bold action of Cæpio' the father. Cæpio's father, on this occaſion of the death of his ſon, did a remarkable act of juſtice, which afforded Auguſtus an opportunity of ſhewing all his moderation. Of two ſlaves belonging to the criminal, one had defended his maſter againſt the ſoldiers that ſeized him; the other had betray'd him. The father rewarded the faithful ſlave by ſetting him at liberty, but had the traitor led through the ſtreets with a label expreſſing his crime, and then crucified. Auguſtus ſhewed no diſſatisfaction at this proceeding: he excuſed the father's love, and did not think the ſon's crime ought to ſtifle the ſentiments of nature in the father, nor the liberty of ſhewing them.

Law to condemn perſons accuſed who ſhould not appear. Some of the judges voted to acquit the accuſed. It is not ſaid that Auguſtus was diſpleaſed at it; but he took this opportunity to make a uſeful and juſt regulation. It ſeems the Roman Tribunals had no fixed method of proceeding againſt ſuch as, conſcious of their crimes, withdrew themſelves to avoid judgment,

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ment, and that even the abſence * of the accuſed was thought a favourable circumſtance. This was an abuſe tending to ſcreen criminals from the ſeverity of the law. Auguſtus remedied that inconvenience by a law wherein it was enacted, that, in ſuch caſes the judges ſhould give their opinions verbally, and not by ballot; and that they ſhould all pronounce condemnation againſt the accuſed not appearing. A.R. 730. Bef. C. 22.

In making this law, it is plain Auguſtus had ſome eye to himſelf; but ſtill the thing was good and uſeful in itſelf. It would not be ſo eaſy to juſtify the ſtep he took in favour of Caſtricius, by whom he had been informed of the conſpiracy of Cæpio and Muræna. Caſtricius being afterwards accuſed, Auguſtus went to the place where judgment was to be given, and, in preſence of the judges, ſo far prevailed on the accuſer that he perſuaded him to deſiſt; no body more appearing againſt him, he eſcaped. The diſcoverer of the conſpiracy is accuſed. Auguſtus ſaves him.

Rome being quite at peace, Auguſtus undertook a great journey, reſolving to viſit all the eaſtern part of the Empire. He was doubtleſs glad of an opportunity of exerciſing there in perſon the ſupreme authority that had been given him; and juſtly imagined the preſence of the Prince would contribute greatly to ſettle things on a ſolid and peaceable foundation. He undertakes a journey to the Eaſt. *Dio.*

But he was hardly got to Sicily, when he found a neceſſity of turning back his attention to Rome, where troubles were ariſing on account of the election of magiſtrates. That was almoſt the only ſhare of public power that had Troubles in Rome on account of the election of Conſuls.

* *The caſe of the accuſation of Sthenius, mentioned Tom.* XI. *of the Roman Hiſtory, l.* XXXV. §. 3. *ſeems to authorize this ſentiment.*

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A.R. 730. bef. C. 22. been left the people, and they could not make a proper uſe even of that little: a manifeſt proof of the neceſſity of a government under one. The mob was obſtinately bent on reſerving a Conſul's place for Auguſtus, and giving Lollius the other; pretended the election was finiſhed. When Auguſtus ſignified his intentions not to accept the Conſulſhip, new troubles aroſe, ſpirited up by the candidates for the place he left vacant, Q. Lepidus and L. Silanus. The ſedition went ſo far that ſeveral were of opinion Auguſtus muſt return to Rome to ſuppreſs it. He choſe rather to ſend for the two rival candidates, and after reprimanding them ſeverely, ſent them back, forbidding them to be preſent in the Campus Martius when the people were aſſembled for the election. They caballed, however, by means of their friends, but after a ſtrong conteſt Q. Lepidus was named Conſul.

A.R. 731. bef. C. 21. M. LOLLIUS.
Q. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Auguſtus recalls Agrippa, and makes him his ſon-in-law.

THIS event made Auguſtus ſenſible of the neceſſity of having a man of weight and judgment to keep Rome in order during his abſence; wherefore he took this opportunity to recall Agrippa. At the ſame time he choſe to beſtow a new honour on him, and unite him nearly to his own perſon, by giving him in marriage his daughter, widow of Marcellus. He was induced to this by Mecænas, who being conſulted on this occaſion, anſwered in theſe very words; "You have made Agrippa ſo "great, that you muſt of neceſſity either kill "him,

Plut. Anton.

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"him, or make him your ſon-in-law." Octavia herſelf, according to Plutarch, influenced Auguſtus in this determination, though her daughter Marcella was actually married to Agrippa; but ſhe gave up ſo great an intereſt to the good of the Empire. Agrippa was accordingly ſent for, and having waited on the Emperor to receive his orders, made the beſt of his way to Rome; where, after having ſeparated from Marcella, who married Julius Antony, he contracted with Julia [a] a marriage as diſhonourable as it was brilliant, as unhappy as it was fruitful. A.R. 731; bef. C. 23.

Agrippa, in what concerned the good order and peace of Rome, anſwered perfectly the Emperor's deſires and intentions. His rank and dignities made him reſpected, and his ſuperior talents added new luſtre to his greatneſs. All was quiet under his equally firm and mild adminiſtration, and Rome hardly perceived Auguſtus was abſent.

Wherever that Prince went, to uſe Velleius's expreſſion, [b] he carried with him the ſweets and advantages of the peace he was author of; yet without neglecting a proper ſeverity when judged neceſſary. But to reſtrain licentiouſneſs, and puniſh crimes, conſtitutes a great part of that good order which is the fruit of peace. After viſiting Italy and Greece, he ſpends the winter at Samos.

He granted Syracuſe, and ſome other towns in Sicily, the privileges of Roman colonies. In Greece he enlarged the Lacedemonian dominions, by adding to them the iſland of Cythæra,

[a] Juliam duxit uxorem, feminam neque ſibi, neque Reipublicæ felicis uteri. *Vell.* II. 93.

[b] Circumferens terrarum Orbi præſentiâ ſuâ pacis ſuæ bona. *Vell.* II. 92.

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A.R.731. bef. C. 21. to make them amends for their former hoſpitality towards Livia, when a fugitive there in the time of Perouſa's war. The Athenians, on the contrary, who had ſervilely flattered Antony and Cleopatra, met a puniſhment due to their eternal proneneſs to that low vice. Auguſtus retrenched from their little ſtate the iſland of Ægina and town of Erætria, and forbid them ſelling, as they had uſed to do, the rights of freedom of their city.

He afterwards went to Samos to ſpend the winter: there he received the ambaſſadors of Candaces, Queen of Æthiopia, before mentioned.

At Rome the people proceeded quietly to elect Apuleius and Silius for their Conſuls.

A.R.732. bef. C. 20. M. APULEIUS.
M. SILIUS NERVA.

He viſits the provinces of Aſia Minor, and goes to Syria.

THE next ſpring Auguſtus continued his journey, and viſited Aſia, properly called, and Bithynia. Tho' theſe provinces, as well as Greece, were in the people's department, the Emperor nevertheleſs exerciſed his authority: we have already ſeen how he cauſed the Senate to give him, in whatever province he ſhould be, a ſuperior command over the actual governors.

In conſequence of this, he acted every where as ſupreme arbitrator; diſpenſed rewards and puniſhments; granted immunities to ſome, and impoſed taxes on others. Thoſe who felt his liberalities were the inhabitants of Tralles, of Laodicæa in Phrygia, of Thyatira and of Chio, who had ſuffered greatly by dreadful earthquakes. But he deprived the people of Cyzicum

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Cyzicum of their liberty; that is to say, he took from them the right of governing by their own laws and magiſtrates, and ſubjected them to a Prefect, or commander of his own naming; becauſe, in a popular tumult, they had uſed ſome Roman citizens extremely ill, whipping them with rods, and even putting ſome to death. In Syria he practiſed the like ſeverity on the Tyrians and Sidonians, who made no other uſe of their liberty than to be ſeditious and tumultuous. A. R. 732. bef. C. 20.

Auguſtus's journey into Syria made Phraates uneaſy: when he ſaw the Emperor ſo near his territories, he was greatly apprehenſive a war was deſigned againſt him. He then thought it time to fulfil the conditions of the treaty lately concluded with Auguſtus, which till then he ſeemed to have quite forgot: he therefore ſent back the ſtandards and Roman priſoners, unfortunate remains of Craſſus's diſaſter and Antony's flight. Tiberius was charged with the honourable commiſſion of receiving them from the ambaſſadors of the King of Parthia. Standards and Roman priſoners reſtored by Phraates. *Suet. Tib.* c. 9.

Then it was that Auguſtus gained a glory preferable, in his eſteem, to any thing acquired by force of arms It was in effect truly great, by the ſole terror of his name to make the only rival power of Rome ſubmit to, and pay her homage, and acknowledge themſelves, if not ſubject, at leaſt inferior. He had great reaſon to pride himſelf on having waſhed out the very laſt marks of thoſe ſtains of diſgrace that for forty years paſt had ſullied the glory of the Roman name. That honour had been ardently wiſhed by the Dictator Cæſar and by Antony. What death prevented Cæſar's executing by force

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A. R. 732. bef. C. 20. force of arms, and what Antony ſucceeded ſo badly in, that, inſtead of wiping off the ſtain, he added to it; that Auguſtus accompliſhed without drawing a ſword; he had only to ſhew himſelf.

Nor were the utmoſt demonſtrations of public joy and admiration wanting to celebrate this exploit; thanks returned the Gods, ovation decreed Auguſtus, triumphal arch erected to his honour, and medals ſtruck to perpetuate the memory of ſo glorious an event. Auguſtus ordered the ſtandards recovered from the Parthians to be depoſited in the Temple of Mars the Avenger, built by him as a monument of his victory at Philippi: and on this occaſion, being a public ſatisfaction in which the whole nation was intereſted, he [a] ratified and confirmed the ſurname of *Avenger*, which he had before given that God, in memory of the revenge he had taken on the murderers of Cæſar.

It cannot after that be wondered, that the great poets of the Auguſtan age, have vied with each other in celebrating what was the object of a glory ſo dear to their Prince. Horace conſecrated to it a moſt magnificent Ode, and in many parts of his works has miſſed no opportunity, no more than Virgil, Ovid and Propertius, to record the remembrance of it.

Hor. Od. III. 5.

He gives as hoſtages his four ſons, with their wives and children.

Phraates took another ſtep ſtill more ſubmiſſive than the reſtitution of the Roman ſtandards and priſoners. He gave Auguſtus, as hoſtages, his four ſons, with their wives and children: but his deſign in ſo doing was to provide for his own ſafety, much more than to ſhew

[a] Rite Deo templumque datum nomenque, bis ulto. *Ovid. Faſt. l.* v. *v.* 595.

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any deference or submission to the Roman power. Hated and detested by his subjects, and conscious he deserved it for his many cruelties, he looked upon his children as his rivals, and ever dreaded the Parthians might set one of them on the throne: whereas, by removing them at a distance, he no longer feared any revolution, knowing how much his subjects were attached to the blood of the Arsacidæ. The young princes were royally treated and maintained in Rome; and under Tiberius we shall see some of them appear again on the stage, and dispute the throne of Parthia. A. R. 732. bef. C. 20.

Augustus's moderation towards the kings and people under the protection of the Roman Empire.

The Empire comprehended several princes and nations, not subject, but allied to the Romans; and who enjoyed their little territories under the protection of those Lords of the universe. Augustus, guided by a spirit of equity and peace, thought not of crushing those weak states that could give him no umbrage: he left them to govern by their own laws. In kingdoms he generally allowed the children to succeed their fathers, but would not let them grow greater, unless by his liberalities. So Herod received from him a gift of the little territory of one Zenodorus, who had declared himself an implacable enemy to the King of Judæa; and Herod, thro' an excess of impiety, the more unpardonable in him, as he knew the true God, built a temple to his benefactor in the new canton he had acquired. Some years before, Juba, husband to Cleopatra, daughter of Antony, had a great part of Mauritania given him: on the other hand, Amyntas, King of the Galatians, dying; Augustus, for what reason I know not, (for history does not say)

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A.R. 732. bef. C. 20. would not let his children ſucceed him, but reduced Galatia into a Roman province.

He ſets Tigranes on the throne of Armenia.

Armenia, a kingdom of far greater power, and more illuſtrious than thoſe I have been ſpeaking of, and likewiſe leſs dependant on the Romans, received however a King from the hand of Auguſtus, after peace had been ratified and ſettled with Phraates.

Artaxias, ſon of Artabazes, dethroned and put to death by Antony, reigned then in Armenia. Born an enemy to the Romans, he had maintained himſelf with the help of the Parthian power. That ſupport being taken from him, by Phraates's reconciliation to Auguſtus, factions and ſeditions aroſe againſt him, and ſeveral of the grandees of his kingdom declared his brother Tigranes ſhould be their King. Tigranes was then at Rome, whither he had been carried from Alexandria, where he was made captive on the death of Antony. Auguſtus might eaſily have taken advantage of theſe diſſentions to ſeize upon Armenia; but he was a ſtranger to the rage of conqueſt, and only propoſed to himſelf to give them a king that was a friend to Rome. However, as there was reaſon to think force of arms would be requiſite to ſucceed in this, Tiberius was charged with the expedition: things took another turn, and there was no occaſion for war. Artaxias being killed by his relations, Tiberius had only to put Tigranes in poſſeſſion of the vacant throne. The Armenian prince did not long enjoy this favour of fortune.

Tiberius begins to riſe.

Tho' the eſtabliſhing Tigranes on the throne of Armenia had been effected without war, yet occaſion was taken from thence to decree in the name

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name of Tiberius, supplications, or solemn thanks to be returned the Gods. This first military honour roused the courage of Augustus's young son-in-law, whose expectations had been raised to a great pitch before that, by a pretended prodigy, which Suetonius and Dio are very careful to record. They say, that whilst he was crossing the plains of Philippi, the fire kindled of itself on an altar formerly consecrated there by the victorious Legions: but his mother's ambition, and her influence over Augustus, were a much surer omen: she then obtained for her son the command of Syria, and all the provinces of the East, which Augustus left under his orders when he returned from Samos. A. R. 732. bef. C. 20. *Dio. l.* LIV. *& Suet. Tib.* 14. *Vell.* II. 94.

But a great obstacle to the views of Livia and Tiberius happened this year, by the birth of a son to Agrippa and Julia, who was named Caius. This birth was celebrated by public rejoicings, and a festival established to perpetuity. Birth of Caius, grandson to Augustus. *Dio.*

Augustus passed a second winter at Samos: and that the inhabitants of that island might feel the good effects of his stay among them, he granted them the liberty and use of their own laws. He there received a famous embassy from Paudion and Porus, Kings of the Indies. The whole world paid homage to his greatness; the most barbarous nations, the Scythians and Sarmatians, sought his friendship: but nothing of this kind was so remarkable as the Indian embassy I am speaking of. The design of it was to conclude a treaty of alliance already began by other ambassadors who some years before went to meet Augustus at Tarragon Indian ambassadors received by Augustus at Samos. *Strabo, l.* XV. *Flor.* IV. 12. *Oros.* VI. 21. *Strabo & Dio.*

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A.R. 732. bef. C. 20. in Spain. Only three of thoſe ambaſſadors came to Samos, ſeveral of their companions having died, as they ſaid, thro' fatigue in a journey of near four years duration. They preſented Auguſtus a letter wrote in Greek by Porus, who, in the pompous ſtile of the eaſtern people, boaſted his command over ſix hundred kings; but yet expreſſed the higheſt value for Auguſtus's friendſhip, promiſing him a paſſage thro' his dominions, and aſſiſtance in all things licit and reaſonable.

They had preſents to offer, which were carried or conducted into the Emperor's preſence by eight ſlaves naked from the waiſt upwards, and perfumed with ſpices. Theſe preſents conſiſted in pearls, jewels, elephants, and ſeveral extraordinary curioſities. There was a man without arms, who with his feet would draw a bow and ſhoot the arrow; ſound a trumpet, and, in ſhort, do almoſt every thing others can with the help of their hands. There were tigers, an animal the Romans had never ſeen, nor, as Dion Caſſius thinks, the Greeks: vipers of a prodigious ſize: a ſerpent twelve cubits long: a river turtle three cubits long, and a partridge bigger than a vulture.

An Indian philoſopher burns himſelf in his preſence.

With the Indian ambaſſadors came a philoſopher of the ſame nation, who renewed in Auguſtus's preſence the ſame mad and furious ſpectacle that Calanus had formerly done before Alexander. He accompanied the Emperor to Athens; and there, having firſt obtained leave to be initiated in the myſteries of Ceres, tho' out of the time preſcribed for that ceremony, he declared, that having to that hour enjoyed a conſtant ſeries of proſperity, he would no longer

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longer be expoſed to the viciſſitudes of human things, nor the caprices of fortune, but would prevent them by a voluntary death. He therefore cauſed a pile to be erected, on which, being rubbed with oil, he with a ſmiling countenance jumped naked, and was conſumed by the flames; thus purchaſing, at the expence of his life, the admiration of the vulgar, and the contempt of men of ſenſe. An epitaph to this purport was put on his tomb: HERE LIES ZARMANOCHEGAS, AN INDIAN OF BARGOSA *; WHO, ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT CUSTOM OF HIS COUNTRY KILLED HIMSELF. A.R. 732. bef. C. 20.

* *This place is not known: if it be the ſame with* Barygaza, *mentioned by Ptolomy, we may place its ſituation near the Gulph of Cambaia.*

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SECT. III.

AUGUSTUS superintendant of the high-ways. Golden Milliary. Disturbances in Rome on account of the election of Consuls. The Consul Sentius's resolution. Augustus's authority quells the sedition. Honours decreed Augustus. His modesty. Honours and privileges granted Tiberius and Drusus. Augustus resumes the reform he had began. Agrippa subdues the Cantabrians. Agrippa declines the triumph. Triumph of Balbus the younger. Virgil's death. Agrippa receives the power of Tribune. New review of the Senate, which is reduced to six hundred. Freedom and boldness of Labeo. Augustus's care to humble Lepidus. Conspiracy and death of Egnatius Rufus. Regulations concerning the fortunes Senators were to be possessed of. Augustus's liberality towards several who had not a sufficient fortune. Law against bribery. Licentiousness and depravity of morals. Augustus sets the example. Law concerning marriages. Artful complaints of several Senators. Law concerning adultery. Sumptuary law. Corn distributed, and shews exhibited free. Saying of Pylades the Pantomime to Augustus. Game of Troy. Augustus's firmness with regard to the people. Divers regulations. Birth of Lucius son of Agrippa. Augustus adopts his grandsons. Secular games. Augustus's care to prevent disorders at the games and shews. Motions of the Germans. Augustus's journey to Gaul. Messala, then Statilius Taurus, Præfects of Rome. Prayers for Augustus's return. Ode of Horace on

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on that ſubject. The Intendant Licinius oppreſſes the Gauls cruelly. He purchaſes his pardon by giving up to Auguſtus the treaſures he had amaſſed there. Monſtrous inhumanity of the freeman Vedius Pollio. Dying, he makes Auguſtus his heir. Druſus's expedition againſt the Rheti. Tiberius and Druſus together ſubdue the Rheti and Vindelici. Colonies eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus in Gaul and Spain. Foundation of the ſchool of Autun. Deſcription of the Conſul Lentulus. The ſame Ediles whoſe nomination had been inauſpicious are re-elected. Portico of Paulus burnt and rebuilt. Agrippa's goodneſs and equity towards the Jews. Diſturbances in the Boſphorus appeaſed by Agrippa. He refuſes the triumph, which from that time was reſerved for the Emperors. Auguſtus returns to Rome. Honours decreed him, which he refuſes. He reviews the Senate, and retains ſeveral members ready to leave it. His regard for the nobility, and reſpect for the memory of the great men of the old Republic. Examples of Auguſtus's moderation. Reflection on the change of Auguſtus's conduct. He is made High Prieſt. Books of Divination ſuppreſſed. Theatre of Balbus. New city of Cadiz built by him. Agrippa's death. His character. His poſterity. Tiberius becomes ſon-in-law to Auguſtus. He ſubdues the Pannonians.

WHILST Auguſtus was abſent from Rome the Senate had named him Superintendant of the highways in Italy. He performed the functions of that office by the miniſtry of two old Prætors, whom he appointed his Lieutenants in that branch, and who, A.R. 732. bef. C. 20. Auguſtus Superintendant of the highways.

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A.R.732. bef. C. 20. who, under his authority, made the celebrated golden *Milliary*, which was a column placed at the head or entrance of the Forum, from whence all the great roads of the Empire were reckoned, as is known, by miles.

Disturbances in Rome on account of the election of Conſuls.

Auguſtus was drawing towards Rome, and it was time he ſhould be there. Agrippa, ſo ſoon as he had ſettled the moſt urgent affairs of the city, went to Gaul, where ſome commotions had aroſe, and from thence to Spain, to ſubdue the Cantabrians, who had again revolted. The city of Rome being by this means without a head able to keep the people in awe, freſh diſturbances broke out on account of the election of Conſuls. The people obſtinately perſiſted in their whim of making Auguſtus Conſul, and would name but one, Sentius Saturninus, who therefore alone took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip the firſt of January.

C. Sentius Saturninus.

A.R.733. bef. C. 19. The Conſul Sentius's reſolution.

SENTIUS had courage and reſolution, and ſeeing himſelf ſole veſted with the authority of Conſul, maintained the weight of that office with a dignity becoming the old Republican times. He detected and puniſhed the frauds of thoſe concerned in managing the finances, and brought back to the public treaſure ſums that had been ſecreted from it. But above all he ſhewed himſelf a great magiſtrate in all nominations to employments. He rejected unworthy ſubjects that offered themſelves for Quæſtors, forbidding them to appear among the candidates, and threatening to make them feel

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feel what a Conſul's power was if they dared A.R. 733. bef. C. 19. ſhew themſelves in the Campus Martius.

But all his firmneſs and reſolution were neceſſary when the election of his Collegue was to be proceeded in: for Auguſtus perſiſting in his refuſal, Egnatius Rufus, the raſh youth whoſe inſolence we have before mentioned, declared himſelf a candidate; and puffed up with the favour of the people, who had raiſed him at once from Edile to Prætor, without going thro' the intermediate degrees, he now pretended to carry the Conſulſhip, contrary to the known intentions of the Emperor, and to make it a means, when attained, to diſturb the repoſe of the Republic. Sentius ordered him to withdraw, which Egnatius refuſing to do, it came to a downright ſedition, and blood was ſpilt, and ſome men killed. The Senate would have given the Conſul a guard, but Sentius, full of courage, thought himſelf ſufficiently armed by the legal authority he was inveſted with; and declared, that even tho' Egnatius ſhould have a majority of votes, he would not declare him elected.

Auguſtus's authority appeaſes the ſedition.

The ſtorm was however too violent to be quite appeaſed by Sentius alone. There was a neceſſity of having recourſe to Auguſtus, to whom the Senate ſent two of their members as deputies. The Emperor on this occaſion was not ſo reſerved as he had been two years before, for he now would not let the people name a Conſul for that year, but took upon him to do it himſelf: and having reſolved in favour of one of the Senate's two deputies, Q. Lucretius, who had formerly been proſcribed, he appointed and ſent

A.R. 733. Ant. C. 19. sent him back Consul to Rome, and soon after followed himself.

C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.
Q. LUCRETIUS.

Honours decreed Augustus. His modesty.

AS he drew near the city the Senate was busied in consulting how to decree him all sorts of honours, in acknowledgment for the wise regulations he had made in all the Provinces where he had been. He would accept but one of those honours, which was an altar consecrated to *Fortune returned*, FORTUNÆ REDUCI, and an anniversary festival on the day of his return. It was intended to meet him without the gates, and all the Orders were already in motion, when, chusing rather to save the citizens that trouble and fatigue, than to enjoy the pomp of it, he entered the city in the night time, as he always chose to do whenever public entries were intended him.

Suet. Aug. 53.

Honours and privileges granted Tiberius and Drusus.

The next day coming to the Senate, he desired for Tiberius, whom he had left in Syria, the ornaments of Prætor (for the Romans began to be used to distinguish between the privileges and decorations of offices and the offices themselves) and for Drusus, brother to Tiberius, the same dispensation that had been granted his elder brother, enabling him to be a magistrate five years before the age appointed by law.

Augustus resumes the reform he had began.

Hitherto Augustus had been able only to trace as it were the outlines of the reform he intended to make in the state: the disorders the Civil Wars had given rise to had taken too deep root to be cured at once: too violent remedies might have increased the evil: he therefore resolved

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solved now to resume the great work he had began, and with that view caused himself to be continued for five years Præfect of the laws and manners, with the power of Consul for his life, and all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity, together with the precedence over all Consuls in actual employ: so that without being either Consul or Censor he enjoyed all the privileges belonging to those great offices. A.R. 733. bef. C. 19.

To render the discharge thereof the more easy to him, the Senators shewed a readiness to swear beforehand to observe whatever laws he should make; but he dispensed them from that oath, rightly judging, that if those laws suited them they would be ready enough of themselves to put them in practice; but that if they should chance to displease, no oath would prevent their shaking off the yoke.

Agrippa was a second he could not do without in this important operation: but that great man, equally qualified for war or peace, was now busy'd in reducing the Cantabrians, who kept him fully employed. He effected it however, as much by his resolution in maintaining a proper discipline among his troops, as by his valour and dexterity against the enemy: for the Roman soldiers, fatigued and disheartened, marched but unwillingly against Barbarians whose fierceness was indomptable: they fought but weakly, and met with some repulses. Agrippa punished the guilty with ignominy: he took the name of *Augusta* from a whole legion that had not behaved well. In a word, having taught his troops to fear their General more than the enemy, he at last completed the reduction of the Cantabrians; and having forced them

Agrippa reduces the Cantabrians.

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A.R. 733. bef. C. 19. them to quit their mountains and come down into the plain, ſubdued them ſo effectually, that they never attempted to revolt again, but quietly ſubmitted to the Roman yoke.

Agrippa declines the triumph.

This exploit was great, and deſerved the moſt brilliant rewards: but Agrippa, as complete a Courtier as he was a General, and always careful to keep within the bounds of a ſimple Lieutenant, who ought to aſcribe every thing to his chief, ſent an account of his ſucceſs, not to the Senate, but to the Emperor, and would not accept the triumph that was decreed him.

This modeſty was not imitated by every one that had the command of an army: Several aſked and obtained the honours of triumph only for taking ſome little paltry town, or ſtopping the inroads of a few banditti: for Auguſtus, as before ſaid, was very liberal of military rewards, and, according to Suetonius, granted triumphal honours to above thirty Generals. It is however certain, that Agrippa, in this refuſal, ſuited himſelf to the Prince's ſecret intentions, which he was better acquainted with than any man, as will appear by the ſequel.

Suet. Aug. 38.

Triumph of Balbus the younger.

It would not be juſt to confound L. Balbus with thoſe that obtained the honours of triumph for trifling exploits. He had conquered the Garamanti, a people of Africa, who had never felt the Roman arms; and in the ceremony of his triumph appeared a long file of barbarous names, people, towns, and mountains, till then unknown, ſubdued by him. The triumpher himſelf was not leſs remakable. Born at Cadiz, and having obtained the right of Roman citizen only by a benefaction from Pompey, he was the only ſtranger of diſtinction that

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1. Largess of the Victor who triumphs to the Roman People.
2. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus
3. Ministers and Officers of the Pontiffs.
4. The Consuls.
5. The Lictors.

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E Corniola apud Leon: Augustini *Gemmas.*

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that had ever triumphed in Rome: but his uncle, who before that had been Conſul, had paved the way for him. A.R. 733. Bef. C. 19.

The year of whoſe events I am now cloſing the account, may be looked upon as fatal to poetry and to learning, ſince it was at this time that Virgil died, before he could put the finiſhing hand to his Eneid. He had retired into Greece, hoping there to enjoy the tranquility neceſſary to poliſh his poem, and finiſh it to his own ſatisfaction. Auguſtus going to Athens at that time, the poet waited on him, and probably was prevailed on by the Emperor to return to Italy with him. He was ill when he embarked, and the voyage encreaſing his diſorder, he died almoſt on his arrival at Brunduſium, little more than fifty years old. Virgil's death.

His epitaph, [a] written by himſelf, if we are to credit the author of his life, contains in two lines his birth, death, burial, and an indication of his works. "Mantua bore me, Brunduſium "ended my days, my aſhes reſt in Naples. I "ſung of ſhepherds, fields and heroes."

It has been aſſured, that when dying he would have burnt his Eneid, and that he even ordered it to be done by his will. He had ſo high an idea of perfection, that a poem, which has always been admired as one of the compleateſt productions of the human brain, did not to him ſeem worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity. Auguſtus, [b] notwithſtanding the reſpect due to the laſt deſires of a teſtator, pre- *Plin.* VII. 30. *A. Gell.* XVII. 10. *Macrob. Sat.* I. 24.

[a] Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope, Cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

[b] Divus Auguſtus carmina Virgilii cremari contra teſtamenti ejus verecundiam vetuit: majuſque ita vati teſtimonium contigit, quam ſi ipſe ſua probaviſſet. PLIN.

vented

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A.R.733. bef. C. 19. vented the execution of that rigorous order; and the work obtained by that means an approbation more honourable than that of its own author would have been. Varius and Tucca, both great poets and Virgil's friends, were ordered by the Emperor to reviſe the Eneid, with leave to ſtrike out what they thought proper, but not to add.

Virgil appointed Auguſtus and Mecænas, with a half brother he had, to be his heirs. To name the Prince in his will was a way of paying his court to him, and Auguſtus always took it kindly from ſuch as he had treated on the footing of friends. This cuſtom grew more in uſe under the ſucceeding Emperors, and became a part of the univerſally reigning adulation.

A.R.734. bef. C. 18. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Agrippa receives the power of Tribune.

AGRIPPA on his return to Rome from his expedition againſt the Cantabrians received the reward of his modeſty: he had declined the triumph, and was now made Auguſtus's collegue as Tribune, which was conferred on him for five years. This title was one of the eſſential characteriſtics of the ſupreme authority; and if Agrippa was inveſted with it but for five years, Auguſtus, who had undertaken for ten years, as we have already ſaid, the command of the armies and adminiſtration of the Provinces, when that power was ready to expire, had it continued to him only for five years: ſo that he treated Agrippa almoſt as himſelf, being willing to let people think,

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think, that at the end of the five years they would each of them ſurrender up to the Republic the power they had from it. A. R. 734. bef. C. 18.

Auguſtus, after taking the precaution of aſſociating Agrippa with him in the power of Tribune, and to ſhew an avenger ready againſt whoever ſhould dare to think of attempting his life, ſet to work about the reform he had began in the Senate, which, notwithſtanding what had been retrenched in a firſt review, ſtill contained ſeveral members no ways fit or able to do honour to that great body: for Auguſtus did not want to exclude thoſe only whoſe audacious aſſurance he diſliked; but fulſome [a] flattery diſpleaſed him full as much, not to ſpeak of the corrupt morals and low birth of many. He even thought that company in general too numerous, and wiſhed he could reduce it to its old number of three hundred. He uſed to ſay he ſhould think himſelf happy if Rome and Italy could furniſh him three hundred men worthy to be members of the public council of the Empire. But perceiving the Senators were much alarmed at the thoughts of ſo great a diminution of their number, he judged it moſt prudent not to reduce them below ſix hundred, which had been their number in the beſt times of the Republic. New review of the Senate, which is reduced to ſix hundred.

His plan being ſettled, he attempted to put it in execution by a method in which himſelf could run no great riſk: and in imitation of what was ſometimes practiſed in the militia, left to the Senators themſelves the choice of their brother Senators. He firſt named thirty,

[a] Cui malè ſi palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus. HOR. Sat. II. 1.

choſen

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A.R. 734. bef. C. 18. choſen on oath, out of the moſt worthy: thoſe thirty, having taken the ſame oath, were to chuſe each five, none of which might be their relations, and thoſe five to draw lots which of them ſhould be the Senator. The new elected thirty were to repeat the ſame operation, and ſo on till they were ſix hundred. But tricks were played, and difficulties aroſe that gave Auguſtus ſuch diſguſt, as prevented his purſuing a ſyſtem ſo advantageous in appearance.

Freedom and boldneſs of Labeo.

So, for example, he met with a mortification from Antiſtius Labeo, who put Lepidus, the old Triumvir, at the head of the five he choſe. Auguſtus could not contain himſelf on this occaſion, but accuſed Labeo of being perjured, and aſked him with indignation, whether, agreeable to the oath he had taken, he did not know any one more worthy? Labeo anſwered calmly, that every one had his own way of thinking; "and after all, added he, what "fault can you find with me, for thinking "worthy the rank of Senator the man whom "you ſuffer to enjoy the High-prieſthood?" This anſwer ſtopped Auguſtus's mouth; but one may imagine did not ſatisfy him.

Labeo had a Republican ſpirit: he had inherited thoſe ſentiments from his father; who having fought in the plains of Philippi in defence of liberty, when he ſaw the battle loſt, made one of his ſlaves kill him. The ſon, brought up in the ſame principles, always preſerved a great haughtineſs. Auguſtus having expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs, on account of the great number of malecontents this review of the Senate had made, ſomebody propoſed that the Senators ſhould form a guard about his perſon.

"I

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"I am apt to sleep, answered Labeo roughly, "I should be but a bad guard." A.R. 734. bef. C. 18.

Such speeches, to which his whole conduct answered, were not the most fit to acquire the Prince's good graces; and in consequence of it, tho' a man of great merit, and an excellent Civilian, he never could arrive at being Consul. Augustus, on the contrary, studied to heap honours on Ateius Capito, Labeo's rival in the law, but who knew better how to suit himself to the times. Tac. Ann. III. 75.

The expedient of leaving to the Senators own decision the choice of those that were to compose that illustrious body, not having succeeded to Augustus's desire, he undertook to finish that work himself with Agrippa's assistance, and accordingly named members to fill the vacant places. But tho' all possible care was taken, he could not avoid giving just reason to some to be dissatisfied. Livineius Regulus complained in open Senate that he was excluded, whilst his son and many others, to whom he thought himself no ways inferior, were admitted. He enumerated his campaigns, and with indignation tore open his garment, to shew the honourable scars of wounds received in his breast. Arunculeius Pætus begged he might have leave to resign his place to his father, who had been struck off the list. On these and other remonstrances of the same nature, Augustus revised his work, and made some alterations.

This condescension encouraged many others to complain, hoping to meet with a like success; but all things must have an end. To those whose remonstrances seemed of weight, Augustus granted the honorary privileges of

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A. R. 734. Bef. C. 18. Senators, and permitted them to ſtand for offices that might bring them into the Senate. Some took advantage of this opening, of which there had been frequent examples under the Republic. Others ſpent their lives in a middle ſtate, between the rank of Senator and the ſtation of private citizen.

Auguſtus's care to humble Lepidus. In all this operation of Auguſtus relating to the Senate, nothing has hitherto occurred but what was laudable. His behaviour towards Lepidus will hardly bear the ſame judgment. That Triumvir, when depoſed, choſe to live in the country, to conceal the ſhame of his fall. Auguſtus, probably piqued at his being continued a Senator againſt his will, forced him to reſide in Rome and aſſiſt in the Senate, that he might there undergo a thouſand marks of contempt; and himſelf affected not to aſk his opinion, nor let him ſpeak, till all others of Conſular dignity had done. There was ſomething very low in this revenge. It would have been much more becoming the maſter of the world, to let an enemy, from whom he had nothing more to fear, ſpend the remainder of his days in the obſcure retreat himſelf had pitched upon.

Conſpiracy and death of Egnatius Rufus. *Vell.* II. 91. Several of the malecontents were ſuſpected of having bad deſigns againſt Auguſtus and Agrippa. It was probably at this time that Egnatius Rufus crowned by his conſpiracy all the mad enterprizes by which he had ſignalized his raſhneſs. He was diſcovered and put to death with his accomplices: ſo Velleius ſays. Dion Caſſius, who, without naming Egnatius, ſeems to ſpeak of the ſame event, does not ſay whether the crime was real or ſuppoſed: he only obſerves

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that it is difficult for private men to penetrate the myſteries of ſtate; and does not pretend to anſwer for any facts, but ſuch as were manifeſtly public. A. R. 734. bef. C. 18.

Among thoſe whom Auguſtus continued in the Senate, or on whom he conferred the rank of Senator, were many who did not poſſeſs ſo great a fortune as that dignity, according to the ancient laws, required. The civil wars had ruined many families, and particularly the nobility, who, by being at the head of factions, are always moſt expoſed to the diſaſters that ever will attend them. Auguſtus conſidered this inconvenience, which was general; and at firſt reduced the ſum to half, viz. to * four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, the ſum anciently fixed to qualify any one for the rank of Senator. But afterwards, as peace and tranquility began to repair the ſhattered fortunes of the citizens, he brought it up to the old taxation, and even went beyond it; and inſtead of † eight hundred thouſand ſeſterces, would have every Senator be ‡ worth a million; and at laſt twelve hundred thouſand **. Regulations concerning the fortunes Senators were to be poſſeſſed of. * *About* £. 3000. † £. 6400. ‡ £. 8000. ** £. 9600.

Theſe regulations were very proper. Men in general are of opinion, that dignities ought to be ſupported by riches; but, leſt poverty ſhould exclude from the Senate any who, in all other reſpects, were perfectly qualified to be an honour to that body, and of uſe to the Republic, Auguſtus was at all times ready to aſſiſt ſuch as were in that ſituation, and by his liberalities made up their deficiency of fortune. Auguſtus's liberality towards ſeveral who had not a ſufficient fortune. *Suet. Aug.* 41.

After this nice and important operation of reforming the Senate, Auguſtus took into conſideration

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A.R.734. bef. C. 18. ſideration ſome general abuſes, which he endeavoured to remedy by enacting wiſe laws.

Law againſt bribery.

Bribery was carried to a prodigious height towards the latter end of the Republic, and was thought to have been the chief cauſe of thoſe factions that had wrought the ruin of liberty. There was leſs of it indeed ſince the form of government had been changed, and the Prince's authority had ſo great influence in the diſtribution of all offices, that it was of little uſe to buy the votes of the citizens. But ſomewhat of that old vice yet remained, and bribery was ſtill practiſed privately. As the evil was not ſo great as it had been, it did not require ſo violent a remedy. Auguſtus, on this occaſion, enacted a law much leſs ſevere than the old one; only ordering that ſuch as were convicted of practiſing bribery, to obtain any poſt or employment ſhould be excluded for five years.

Licentiouſneſs and depravity of morals.

The depravity of morals, frequent adulteries, and ſcandalous celibacy, fruits of luxury and ſources of libertiniſm, were the diſorders moſt difficult to extirpate. Riches and proſperity firſt brought them into Rome; the continual viciſſitude of public events gave them an opportunity to take deep root; and the licentiouſneſs ever attending war was an encouragement to ſhew themſelves more boldly. The eaſe and plenty that flowed from the tranquillity of the State, fed and nouriſhed them.

Every body complained, even thoſe whoſe morals were leaſt ſevere. Horace ſays [a],

Fruitful of crimes, this age firſt ſtain'd
Their haplefs offſpring, and profan'd

The

[a] Fecunda culpæ ſæcula, nuptias
Primùm inquinavere, & genus, & domos;

Hoc

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The nuptial bed, from whence the woes, A.R. 734
Which various and unnumber'd roſe bef. C. 18
From this polluted fountain head,
O'er Rome, and o'er the nations ſpread.
With plyant limbs the ripen'd maid
Now joys to learn the wanton trade
Of dance indecent, and to prove
The pleaſures of forbidden love:
But ſoon amid the bridal feaſt
Boldly ſhe courts her huſband's gueſt;
Her love no nice diſtinction knows,
But round the wand'ring pleaſure throws,
Careleſs to hide the bold delight
In darkneſs, and the ſhades of night.

FRANCES's *Tranſ.*

Auguſtus ſet the example.

It but ill became Auguſtus, who was himſelf a public example to the contrary, to aſſume the character of reformer of thoſe diſorders. It was well known he had criminal commerce with ſeveral women: his friends could not but own it; though they endeavoured to excuſe him, under the frivolous pretence, that it was not from a ſpirit of debauchery, but for the intereſt of the ſtate he did it, with a view to find out what plots or cabals might be ſecretly carried on. And, indeed, conſcious to himſelf of the indecencies he might be taxed with, ſhould he attack this corruption of morals by ſevere laws, whilſt his own conduct ſeemed to authorize it,

Suet. Aug. 69.

Hoc fonte derivata clades,
In patriam, populumque fluxit.
Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, & fingitur artibus
Jam nunc, & inceſtos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui.

HOR. *Od.* III. 6.

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A. R. 734. bef. C. 18. he at that time went no farther than what related to celibacy, a ſtate hurtful to the Republic, as it prevented an increaſe of citizens, at a time when there was great need of them to replace thoſe the civil wars had carried off.

Law concerning marriages. *Suet. Aug.* 34. *& Dio.*

Celibacy had been always thought diſhonourable among the Romans, and was ſubject to a pecuniary tax. Auguſtus increaſed that tax, and likewiſe granted certain rewards and privileges to ſuch as married and had ſeveral children; as Cæſar had done after the African war. To render marriages more eaſy, he allowed all who were not Senators, or ſons of Senators, to marry free women, without prejudice either to the parties contracting, or their children, by the inequality of ſuch alliances. And, as many, to avoid the penalties at all times impoſed on celibacy, would marry young children, he forbid any contract being made with a girl under ten years old; ſo that the marriage might be celebrated within two years at moſt after the contract. He likewiſe put a ſtop to the too great facility of divorces, by which diſſentions and diſturbances were occaſioned in many families; and inflicted puniſhments on divorces made without ſufficient cauſe.

Artful complaints of ſeveral Senators.

He met with great difficulties in eſtabliſhing theſe laws, ſo prevalent was the general licentiouſneſs and the convenience of celibacy, which, tho' far from a ſtate of chaſtity, yet was not clogged with the cares attending a family and the education of children. In vain did Auguſtus alledge the maxims of antiquity; in vain, to enforce his precepts, did he cauſe to be read in the Senate an harangue of the Cenſor Metellus Macedonicus, exhorting every citizen to marry: he could not bring over men in whom

See *Hiſt. of the Republ.* T. IX. *l.* XXVIII. §. I.

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whom the ſpirit of libertiniſm had got the better of reaſon. A.R. 734. bef. C. 18. Some of the Senators, to embarraſs the too rigid legiſlator, by hinting at the contradiction between his own morals and his laws, obſerved, that one of the greateſt bars to marriage, was the looſe conduct of women and young folks; and that that muſt be the firſt thing remedied, if it was intended to ſtrike at the root of the evil.

Auguſtus readily comprehended the ſecret meaning of thoſe malicious remonſtrances, and endeavoured to elude them by ſaying, he had ſettled the moſt important points; but that it was not poſſible to remedy every thing equally well. It was ſtill inſiſted on; and he defended himſelf by ſaying, "It is your own buſineſs, "Gentlemen, to regulate your families at home, "and to give your wives proper advice, as I "do." Still the refractory ones would not give it up, but deſired to know what might be that proper advice he was pleaſed to give Livia, from which ſhe profited ſo much: upon this he was forced to enter into a detail of women's dreſs; the decorum they ought to obſerve when they appeared in public; what company it was proper for them to ſee; and ſo on. Dion Caſſius ſays nothing more: but it is certain from Suetonius, and from the Roman law, that Auguſtus made a law againſt adultery; and it may be imagined the importunities I have been ſpeaking of, in ſome meaſure compelled him to do it. Law concerning adultery.

We cannot be certain what was the exact tenor of that law: ſevere or not, it does not appear that Auguſtus was over careful to ſee it ſtrictly obſerved. A young man being accuſed

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A.R.734. Bef. C. 18. before him, of having married a woman with whom he had before lived in a ſtate of adultery, Auguſtus was puzzled, daring neither to acquit or puniſh the criminal. He evaded the difficulty by ſaying, "the licentiouſneſs of paſt "times has given riſe to ſuch diſorders: let us "forget the paſt, added he, and take the beſt "meaſures we can for what is to come."

But ſtill he never loſt ſight of that object celibacy; and though he could not then, on account of the difficulties that aroſe, compleat what he intended on that head, yet he returned to it, and at length compleated his work by the famous law *Papia Poppæa*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

Sumptuary law.

See *Rom. Hiſt.* T. VIII. *l.* XXVII. §. 11.

The luxury of tables, uſual concomitant of a licentiouſneſs of manners, had formerly given riſe to many ſumptuary laws; but ſtronger ſtill than all the laws, it was now carried to an intolerable exceſs. Auguſtus endeavoured to curb it by a new one, fixing the expence of a meal on common days at two hundred ſeſterces, (thirty-two ſhillings) on holydays three hundred, (forty-eight ſhillings) and for a wedding a thouſand (eight pounds of our money). This law, leſs ſevere than the old ones, was ſomewhat favourable to the vice of the times, but ſtill would not do. Aulus Gellius quotes a regulation of Auguſtus, or Tiberius, allowing as far as two thouſand ſeſterces to be ſpent for a meal.

Corn diſtributed, and ſhews exhibited gratis.

Dio.

All theſe regulations indiſpoſed in ſome meaſure the minds of many againſt the Emperor, who thought proper to palliate what ſeemed diſpleaſing in the ſeverity of his laws, by ſome acts of popular indulgence. Free gifts of corn, and

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and ſhews exhibited gratis, were things that always took with the multitude: for the firſt, Auguſtus ſettled a regular order, and appointed ſome of the ancient Prætors to ſee it properly done; and, with regard to the ſecond, he allowed the Prætors in office to add to the magnificence of ſhews and games, by expending on them three times as much as they received from the public treaſure, A. R. 734. bef. C. 18.

He was particularly attentive to amuſe the people by all kinds of theatrical performances, ſo long as he lived. 'Tis true, he liked them himſelf: he would ſpend hours together there, and ſometimes whole days, as intent on what was doing as the idleſt man among them could be: he choſe not to make himſelf ſingular, and to avoid what had been blamed in his father Cæſar the Dictator, who, during thoſe repreſentations, the futility of which could afford no great ſatisfaction to a mind like his, would read his letters, make notes, and anſwer petitions he had received. Auguſtus [a] thought it more popular to do like the reſt of the ſpectators; nor did he diſown that the performances themſelves took up moſt of his attention. *Suet. Aug.* 43—45.

His motive for encreaſing thoſe kind of amuſements was undoubtedly of a more ſerious nature. He was willing to feed the curioſity of an uneaſy people, and turn their vivacity towards objects of no importance that might attract and ſatisfy their deſires, and make them forget all affairs of ſtate, in which they had formerly had ſo great a ſhare.

[a] Civile rebatur miſcere voluptatibus vulgi. *Tac. Ann.* I. 54.

That

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A.R. 734. bef. C. 18. Saying of Pylades the Pantomime to Auguſtus.

That was the meaning of a very judicious ſaying of a man of a frivolous profeſſion, Pylades the Pantomime. Pylades and Bathyllus were rivals, and ſhared the applauſe and favour of the multitude, who would contend for the ſuperior excellence of one or t'other of them, with as much warmth as ever they did for Cæſar and Pompey in the time of the Republic. The actors grew proud upon it; and Pylades being one day hiſſed by one of the ſpectators, pointed at him, to ſhew thoſe of his own party on whom to revenge the affront offered him. The Emperor chaſtiſed the Pantomime's inſolence, by ordering him to leave the city and Italy; but was ſoon prevailed on by the peoples deſires to let him return. When Pylades appeared before Auguſtus, the Prince recommended to him to behave better for the future, and not to attempt to make any more parties or factions. "Cæſar, ſaid the player, "it is of ſervice to you to have the people "buſied about Bathyllus and me."

Dio.

Suet.

Auguſtus knew it well; and for that reaſon, whilſt he reigned, was laviſh of all kinds of theatrical amuſements, plays in Greek and Latin, courſes in the Circus, combats of gladiators and wreſtlers, curioſities from foreign countries: and he was careful to keep up a ſpirit of emulation, by giving rewards to the players or combatants that diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

Game of Troy.

It has been obſerved in the hiſtory of the Republic, that Auguſtus was particularly fond of the game of Troy, in which the young nobility exerciſed themſelves in running horſes, and in Caracoles performed with great agility and

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and addreſs. This diverſion was liable to accidents: and the ſon of Nonius Aſprænas having hurt himſelf, Auguſtus, by way of amends, made him a preſent of a golden gorget, and was not diſpleaſed at the young man's aſſuming on this occaſion the ſurname of *Torquatus*, which had been given many ages before to the family of Manlius * for a much more glorious cauſe. But another accident of the ſame nature happening to Eſerninus, grandſon to Pollio, the latter complained bitterly of it in the Senate, and with great haughtineſs; for which reaſon Auguſtus thought proper to give over a diverſion ſo dangerous, and productive of events ſo diſagreeable to him. A.R. 734. bef. C. 18.

* See *Rom. Hiſt.* T. III. *l.* VIII. § 1.

Auguſtus's firmneſs with regard to the people. *Suet. Aug.* 42.

Tho' Auguſtus was highly pleaſed with gaining the love and affection of the people, yet he would not for that reaſon forego the leaſt part of that dignity and firmneſs that became his rank. So, tho' he knew how exceſſively fond the multitude was of the diſtributions of corn, firſt began under the Republic, and continued by him, yet he had thoughts of ſuppreſſing them, being ſenſible they encouraged idleneſs, and by affording too eaſy a means of ſubſiſtance, prevented many from cultivating their lands: and he would have put that deſign in execution, had he not feared ſome one might revive that cuſtom after him, from the ſame motive that firſt occaſioned it, a mean flattery towards the people.

Wine happening to be ſcarce and dear one year, [a] the people complained and grew noiſy.

[a] Querentem de inopia & caritate vini populum ſeveriſſimâ coercuit voce: *Satis proviſum à genero ſuo Agrippa, perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines ſitirent.* Suet. Aug. c. 42.

"What

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A.R. 734. bef. C. 18. "What are you afraid of? ſaid the Emperor to them; my ſon-in-law Agrippa has taken "care you ſhall not want drink." Alluding to the water Agrippa had brought into Rome by aqueducts, and particularly to that called the *Virgin Water*, ſtill ſubſiſting and known by the name of *Trevia*.

But to return to the order of time, which which brings me to the Conſulſhip of Furnius and Silanus.

A.R. 735. bef. C. 17. C. FURNIUS.
C. JUNIUS SILANUS.

Divers regulations, *Dio*.

UNDER theſe Conſuls Auguſtus proſecuted his plan of reformation, and made or revived ſeveral uſeful regulations.

By a law formerly made by Cincius, Tribune of the people, lawyers were forbid to receive either money or preſents from their clients. Auguſtus put that law in force, and added a clauſe, ſubjecting ſuch as broke it to forfeiture of four times what they ſhould have received.

He forbid Judges paying any viſits during the year they were in office.

Finding the Senators remiſs in attending the meetings of that body, he encreaſed the forfeit to which abſent members had always been liable.

Birth of Lucius ſon of Agrippa.

Whilſt he was thus employed in whatever might be advantageous to the ſtate, his own family encreaſed and acquired a new prop, by the birth of a ſecond ſon to Agrippa and Julia, who was named Lucius. Auguſtus, to whom it was of conſequence to ſhew the public ſucceſſors deſtined to inherit his authority, haſtened

Auguſtus adopts his grandchildren.

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to adopt his grandchildren, tho' the eldeſt could not be more than three years old, and the youngeſt was but juſt born. In this adoption he adhered cloſely to the moſt ſolemn formularies of the Roman law, and inſiſted on Agrippa their father's making over to him, by a kind of ſale, his right to the children. He gave them his name, ſo that they were called Caius Cæſar and Lucius Cæſar. A. R. 735. bef. C. 17. *Suet. Aug.* 64.

This year he celebrated the Secular Games, which can no otherwiſe intereſt us now but on account of the fine poem written by Horace on that ſubject, and ſung by a double chorus, the one of boys and the other of young gils. What is moſt curious relating to thoſe games may be found in Mr. Rollin's ſhort Diſſertation in the fourth volume of his Roman hiſtory. Secular games. *l.* XII. § 1. *towards the end.*

I ſhall only take notice here of Auguſtus's great care to prevent all occaſions of diſorder, by forbidding the young people of either ſex to go alone to any performance during the three nights this feſtival laſted, but to be in company of ſome relation of years of maturity. He took the ſame care at all public ſhews, where he thought the morals of youth might be in any danger; and if he did not carry it ſo far as to forbid all young people from being preſent, at leaſt a part of the amphitheatre was particularly deſtined for them, and there they were ſeated under the eye of their parents or tutors. For the ſame reaſon the men and women had different places aſſigned them at ſhews and combats of gladiators, and no women were allowed to ſee the wreſtling matches. He would have done better ſtill had he obliged the combatants to reſpect, as was formerly done, the laws of natural Auguſtus's care to prevent diſorders at the games. *Suet. Aug.* 31--34.

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A.R.735. bef.C.17. natural modeſty, and not to appear quite naked before the ſpectators.

The next year had for Conſuls two men of moſt illuſtrious names, Domitius and Scipio: the former ſon-in-law to Octavia, and grandfather to the Emperor Nero: the latter too was nearly related to Auguſtus, being ſon of Scribonia, and conſequently half brother to Julia.

A.R.736. bef.C.16. L. DOMITIUS AHÆNOBARBUS.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Motions of the Germans. Auguſtus's journey to Gaul. *Dio.*

THE motions of the Germans determined Auguſtus to take a journey into Gaul this year. Thoſe motions, of which I ſhall give elſewhere what imperfect account is to be found in the writings of the ancients, were the beginning of a war that became very important, and, properly ſpeaking, the only * conſiderable one that happened under Auguſtus: for that Prince, a lover of peace, by keeping the Romans quiet, made the whole univerſe enjoy a happy tranquility: a plain proof that Rome itſelf ought to be accuſed of thoſe perpetual wars, which, from its very birth, had at one time or other ſet it at enmity with every nation of the known world. The ambition of the Roman people, and of their Generals, fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by great exploits, and of meriting the honours of triumph, often provoked them to ſeek war where otherwiſe it would not have been. The truth of this obſervation will be more and more confirmed by the

* *By this I mean the war againſt the Germans and Pannonians: they were the ſame for ſome time, and the one was the riſe and ſupport of the other.*

continued

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continued calm under the ſucceeding Emperors, who, tho' widely different from Auguſtus in other reſpects, yet reſembled him in his indifference for making conqueſts; and the repoſe they delighted in was the repoſe of the whole world. A.R. 736. bef. C. 16.

Not but even in Auguſtus's time ſome barbarous nations, merely from their natural ferocity, did ſometimes take up arms; but thoſe diſturbances were generally ended as ſoon as begun: and the reader will excuſe my not taking notice of thoſe trifling wars in which nothing happened either memorable or uſeful to be known. In that I conform myſelf to the maxim of the Prince himſelf whoſe hiſtory I am writing. When Auguſtus read [a] either the Greek or Latin authors, he would dwell chiefly on what might be a leſſon or example to him, either in the adminiſtration of ſtate affairs, or in his own private conduct. The reſt ſeemed little worth his attention.

Politicians imputed his journey to Gaul to other particular views, beſides the German war. Some thought, that after the laws he had juſt made, the difficulty of making people obſerve them, the murmurs excited by attempting to put them in execution with ſeverity, the ſhame he would incur by receding from that ſeverity on certain occaſions in favour of particular perſons, all theſe things embarraſſed him, and a little abſence ſeemed a proper remedy: in that imitating Solon, who after giving laws to Athens, departed from it and travelled ten years.

[a] In evolvendis utriuſque linguæ auctoribus, nihil æque ſectabatur, quàm præcepta & exempla publicè vel privatim ſalubria. *Suet. Aug.* 89.

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A.R. 736. bef. C. 16. A third motive, not very honourable, was imputed to him, according to Dion Caſſius: I mean his amours with Terentia, wife to Mecænas, of which there was much talk in Rome. But was it a way to ſilence ſuch reports, if he took that lady with him, as Dion ſays he did?

Meſſalá, then Statilius Taurus, Præfects of Rome.

Tac. Ann. VI. 11. Euſeb. chron.

However that may be, Mecænas was of the journey, and Agrippa was ordered into Syria, from whence Tiberius was returned: Auguſtus was conſequently obliged to look out for one in whom he could confide, to govern the city in his abſence. He firſt thought of Meſſala, whoſe birth, virtue, parts, and attachment to the Emperor, rendered him extremely well qualified for that truſt: but naturally mild, brought up in Republican maxims, and a great reſpecter of the laws, he did not think himſelf fit to hold a deſpotic authority, and which, though civil, was carried on in a manner almoſt military. He reſigned it after a few days, and Auguſtus appointed to ſucceed him Statilius Taurus, on whom he had already conferred the conſular dignity and triumphal honours; he had been brought up in arms, and owing all his fortune to the new government, had learned to acknowledge hardly any other law but the Prince's will. Taurus poſſeſſed that great poſt till his death, and behaved in it to the ſatiſfaction of the Prince that gave it him.

Prayers for Auguſtus's return.

Auguſtus was no ſooner gone, but ſome pretended prodigies happened in Rome, on account of which the Senate ordered public prayers to be put up for his happy return; as if his preſence was to be their ſafeguard againſt all the evils heaven threatened them with. However, the affairs of Gaul, and the diſturbances

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ances apprehended from the Germans, detained him all that year and the two following: and it is perhaps to this his delay, longer than was expected, that we are to aſcribe that pretty tender ode [a] Horace thus addreſſes him. A.R. 736. bef. C. 16.

Propitious to the ſons of earth
(Beſt guardian of the Roman ſtate)
The heavenly powers beheld thy birth,
And form'd thee glorious, good and great:
Rome and her holy fathers cry, thy ſtay
Was promis'd ſhort, ah! wherefore this delay?

Come then, auſpicious Prince, and bring,
To thy long gloomy country, light,
For in thy countenance the Spring
Shines forth to chear thy people's ſight;
Then haſten thy return, for, thou away,
Nor luſtre has the ſun, nor joy the day.

As a fond mother views with fear
The terrors of the rolling main,
While envious winds, beyond his year,
From his lov'd home her ſon detain;

[a] Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ
Cuſtos gentis, abes jam nimiùm diu:
Maturum reditum pollicitus Patrum
Sancto concilio, redi.
Lucem redde tuæ, dux bone, patriæ.
Inſtar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
Affulſit populo, gratior it dies,
Et ſoles meliùs nitent,
Ut mater juvenem, quem notus invido
Flatu Carpathii trans maris æquora
Cunctantem ſpatio longiùs annuo
Dulci diſtinet à domo,
Votis ominibuſque & precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciem littore dimovet:
Sic deſideriis icta fidelibus
Quærit Patria Cæſarem. *Hor. Od.* IV. 5.

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A.R. 736. bef. C. 16. To the good gods with fervent prayer ſhe cries,
And catches every omen as it flies;
Anxious ſhe liſtens to the roar
Of winds that loudly ſweep the ſky;
Nor fearful from the winding ſhore,
Can ever turn her longing eye;
Smit with as faithful and as fond deſires,
Impatient Rome her abſent lord requires.
FRANCIS's *Tranſ.*

A.R. 737. bef. C. 15. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS LIBO.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

The Intendant Licinius oppreſſes the Gauls cruelly. *Dio.*

IN Gaul Auguſtus received great complaints againſt the intendant he had appointed to levy the tributes and impoſts. His name was Licinius, by birth a Gaul, formerly a ſlave to Cæſar; but having obtained his freedom, had gained the confidence of Auguſtus his patron, ſo far as to obtain an employment that made all Gaul in a manner dependant on him. The credit and power freemen acquired in the Empire, was one of the conſequences of the change of government.

This man ſtill retaining, in his new condition, all the meanneſs of ſentiment of his firſt ſtate, and intoxicated by a fortune he was not born to poſſeſs, abuſed moſt inſolently the power he was veſted in. He took a malicious pleaſure in humiliating and cruſhing thoſe in whoſe preſence he would before have trembled, and wearied out the Gauls in general by the moſt horrid oppreſſions. Dion Caſſius mentions an example of it. As the tributes were levied and paid by months, this wretch, taking advantage of the new names given to two months of the year, July and Auguſt,

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Auguſt, made a year of fourteen months, and levied fourteen contributions inſtead of twelve. A. R. 737. bef. C. 15.

Auguſtus was moved at the complaints that reached him on all ſides againſt his intendant, and aſhamed to have employed ſuch a miniſter. Every thing threatened Licinius with approaching ruin, and it was thought he could not poſſibly eſcape puniſhment. But the tyrannical oppreſſor had recourſe to an expedient often ſucceſsfully practiſed ſince on like occaſions. Taking the Prince into the place where his treaſure was, and ſhewing him vaſt heaps of gold and ſilver, "Behold, ſaid he, "what I have collected for you, at the hazard "of becoming myſelf the victim of the public "hatred. I thought it was doing you a ſer-"vice to ſtrip the Gauls of their riches, that "they might not make uſe of them to revolt "againſt you. Take this gold and ſilver: I "never deſigned it for any other purpoſe than "to put it into your hands." Auguſtus was weak enough to be dazzled by ſo rich a booty: intereſt got the better of juſtice; and the fruit of Licinius's crimes procured his pardon. He purchaſes his pardon by giving up to Auguſtus the treaſures he had amaſſed there.

Licinius deſerves to have here for companion a man like him as to fortune and riches, but beyond him in inhumanity. Vedius Pollio, originally a ſlave, made free, and afterwards by dint of money made a Roman Knight, carried luxury to its greateſt height: but what makes him odious above all, was the monſtrous cruelty with which he uſed his ſlaves. He kept lampreys in a pond, where he fed them with human fleſh; and the ordinary puniſhment inflicted on his ſlaves, often for trivial faults, was to have them thrown, hands and legs tied together, Monſtrous inhumanity of Vedius Pollio, a freeman. *Tac. Ann.* I. 10.

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A.R. 737. bef. C. 15. gether, into the pond, to feed thoſe voracious animals.

Sen. de Clem. l. 18. & de Ira III. 40. & Dio.

That barbarous wretch was however numbered among Auguſtus's friends, to whom no great honour could reſult from ſuch a connection. One day that the Emperor dined at his houſe, a ſlave happening to break a cryſtal vaſe, was immediately condemned to be thrown to the lampreys. The poor fellow threw himſelf at Auguſtus's feet, imploring not life, but a death leſs horrid. Auguſtus interceded for him; but ſuch was Vedius's inſolence, that he refuſed the Prince's requeſt. Auguſtus, on this, ordered all the cryſtal vaſes that were ſpread on the beuffet to be brought, and himſelf broke them all directly. A leſſon ſo well timed, mortified Vedius, and ſaved the ſlave.

Dying he makes Auguſtus his heir.

Vedius died in the Conſulſhip of Libo and Piſo: dying, he appointed Auguſtus his heir. Among other things he left him the famous country ſeat called * Pauſilype, near Naples. By his will he directed the Emperor to build ſome public monument. Auguſtus cauſed Vedius's houſe in Rome to be pulled down, and in the place where it ſtood erected a portico which he called, not after the name of Vedius, but of Livia. Was it becoming Auguſtus to be heir to a man, whoſe very name he endeavoured to bury in oblivion?

Druſus's expedition againſt the Rheti

The Rheti, originally a Tuſcan people, but for ſome centuries ſettled in the mountainous parts of the Alps, inhabiting pretty nearly the country where the Griſons now dwell, made inroads ſometimes into Gaul, and ſometimes into

* *A Greek word, ſignifying Eaſe,* remiſſio curarum: *from* παύω, finio, *and* λύπη, dolor *or* cura.

Italy.

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Italy. They were extremely fierce and uncultivated: inſtead of the ſuavity of manners of the learned nation they were a colony of, they had adopted all the ferocity of a ſavage climate, ſuch as that they were tranſplanted into naturally inſpires; and by their intercourſe with Barbarians, were become Barbarians themſelves. In their incurſions they deſtroyed all the males they found, ſearching for them even in their mother's wombs, their prieſts pretending to tell by indications, as cruel as they were uncertain, whether the child was male or female. A.R. 737. bef. C. 15. *Strabo. l.* IV.

Druſus, the youngeſt of Auguſtus's ſons-in-law, was ſent to reduce thoſe Barbarians to order; and gave on this occaſion the firſt proofs of his talents for war, and the command of armies. The advantages he gained were thought deſerving the ornaments of Prætor, beſides a monument of another kind not leſs glorious and more durable, I mean a very fine Ode of Horace, in which the poet records in the ſublimeſt manner the exploits of that young warrior. He takes care however to give Auguſtus the greateſt ſhare of the honour, [a] by whoſe leſſons and examples Druſus was formed, and rendered fit to [b] wield the thunder of Jove.

Tiberius and Druſus together ſubdue the Rheti and Vindelici.

The Rheti repulſed and beat, but not ſubdued, called in their neighbours, the Vindelici, to their aſſiſtance. The war becoming thus more conſiderable, and the danger greater, Auguſtus thought proper to give Druſus an aſſiſtant and colleague, and ſent him his elder bro-

[a] Senſere quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita fauſtis ſub penetralibus
Poſſet, quid Auguſti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones. HOR. *Od.* IV. 4.

[b] Qualem miniſtrum fulminis alitem. HOR.

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A.R. 737. bef. C. 15. ther Tiberius, who till then had ſtaid with him in Gaul. The two brothers ſeparated, and entering the barbarians territories in different parts, forced their caſtles, [c] built on the tops of inacceſſable mountains, and gave them ſeveral battles; one of which, gained by Tiberius, was ſo conſiderable, as obliged that [d] bold people, fonder of liberty than of life, to ſubmit at laſt to the yoke. To accuſtom them to bear it by civilizing them, they were taken from their mountains, (of which cuſtom we have already ſeen ſome examples) ſettled in the plains, and the country became quiet and peaceable. Two colonies were founded to preſerve tranquility, Druſomagus, * in the territory of the Rheti, and Auguſta, now Augſburg, in the dominions of the Vindelici. This ſecond expedition was likewiſe celebrated by Horace ſtill with the ſame care to make Auguſtus's praiſes prevail over thoſe of the two victorious Generals.

* *Memmingen in Suabia, according to La Martiniere.*

Colonies eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus in Gaul and Spain.

The reader muſt perceive, and I fear I ſhall make him but too ſenſible of it, that hiſtory grows dry, and little intereſting, for want of materials from proper hands: ſo that all we have to ſay of what Auguſtus did in Gaul, a few orders relating to the German war, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, excepted, muſt be reduced to the eſtabliſhment of ſome colonies, moſt of which took his name, intermixing it with their ancient names. He founded ſome in Spain and others in Gaul. The moſt renowned is *Auguſtodunum*, Autun, the ſame with *Bibracte*, capital of the Eduans.

[c] ——————— arces.
Alpibus impoſitas tremendis. Hor. *Od.* IV. 14.
[d] Devota morti pectora libera. Hor. *ibid.*

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The Eduans were the oldeſt Allies the Romans had among the Gauls: that was probably the motive that determined Auguſtus to make their capital the ſeat of letters, the Athens of Gaul. He eſtabliſhed a ſchool, and profeſſors of eloquence and literature, in order to procure the Gauls the only advantage they wanted, learning. The Emperor was himſelf a man of letters. But there is room to think policy had its ſhare in this: he was thoroughly ſenſible how far learning contributes to ſoften the manners of men, and render them more docile and tractable, and more ſuſceptible of impreſſions of ſubmiſſion and obedience. His views ſucceeded. The Gauls acquired the manners of the Romans at the ſame time as they learnt their knowledge. They not only remained peaceable, but grew affectionate to the Empire: and to this the ſchool of Autun contributed not a little. It ſtill flouriſhed three ages after, under Conſtantine and his Children. A.R. 737. bef. C. 15. Foundation of the ſchool of Autun.

This year Auguſtus reſtored the inhabitants of Cizicum to the liberty he had deprived them of ſix years before.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS,
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS AUGUR. A.R. 738. bef. C. 14.

OF the two Conſuls for the year of Rome 738, Craſſus and Lentulus, the firſt was grandſon to the famous Craſſus; the other, heir to a name likewiſe illuſtrious, is hardly known to us perſonally, otherwiſe than by a paſſage in Seneca, which does not give us a very high idea of him. He was in the ſame ſituation as many other of the nobility, impo- Deſcription of the Conſul Lentulus. *Sen. de Benef.* II. 27.

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A.R. 738. verified by the Civil Wars; and without parts
bef. C. 14. or talents presented himself to [a] Augustus, with the sole recommendation of being descended from an ancient and noble family, but poor. Augustus loaded him with wealth, and Lentulus being covetous, managed so as soon to find himself possessed, or, to speak more properly, keeper of four hundred * millions of sesterces. What was very remarkable is, that he did not think himself much obliged to Augustus; but having a great opinion of his own genius for eloquence, complained the Emperor had done him more hurt by taking him from his studies, than good by his liberalities: yet he was so dull and heavy, that, [b] covetous as he was, says Seneca, one might sooner have got money out of him than words: so that [c] had he done himself justice, he would have thought Augustus did him a double service, in taking him from a study in which he could have gained nothing but the laughter and derision of the public. His riches, amassed with so much care, cost him his life under Tiberius.

* *Three millions two hundred thousand pounds.*

Suet. Tib. c. 49.

Rome affords this year but two events, and those of no great importance.

The same Ediles whose nomination had been inauspicious are re-elected. *Dio.*

Some inauspicious omen was thought to have happened in the nomination of Curule Ediles. The election was begun again according to custom; but what there had been no example of before, the same persons whose nomination had been thought bad were again elected. I men-

[a] Ad Augustum attulerat nobilitatem sub onere paupertatis laborantem.

[b] Quum esset avarissimus, nummos citius emittebat, quàm verba.

[c] At illi inter alia hoc quoque divus Augustus præstiterat, quòd illum derisu & labore irrito liberaverat.

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tion this event only to ſhew, that old cuſtoms were pretty eaſily broke through, at the ſame time that reſpect ſeemed to be paid them to a certain degree. A. R. 738, bef. C. 14.

The portico of Paulus, a magnificent ſtructure, of which notice has been taken in the hiſtory of the Republic, was burnt this year. The fortunes of its founder's deſcendants having been greatly impaired by the Revolutions of the ſtate, they could not afford the expence of rebuilding it: Auguſtus, at the head of their friends, undertook it; and very modeſtly would have its old name given the new portico, without making any mention of thoſe that rebuilt it. Portico of Paulus burnt and rebuilt.

In the eaſt, Agrippa maintained his character of wiſdom and valour. We learn from Joſephus his equity and goodneſs towards the Jews, and may judge by that how he behaved towards the other people, ſubject to, or protected by the Romans. Agrippa's goodneſs and equity towards the Jews,

Herod, who together with great vices had likewiſe great talents, acquired Agrippa's friendſhip. On his account the Roman granted his protection to the Jews of Aſia minor, whom the Greeks were continually vexing and tormenting, out of hatred to a people, the ſingularity of whoſe religion ſeemed to condemn theirs. Agrippa continued the Jews in their poſſeſſion of the rights of citizens of the places where they were ſettled: forbid moleſting them in the exerciſe of their religion, and would not ſuffer them to be forced to appear before any tribunals on their holy days. He granted them leave to ſend to Jeruſalem what ſums of money they, out of devotion, wanted to remit *Joſeph. Antiq.* xvi. 2, 3, 4. §. 10.

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A. R. 738. bef. C. 14. to the holy city. He went to Jeruſalem himſelf, where he was magnificently received by Herod, and there politicly offered up a ſolemn ſacrifice to God.

Diſturbances in the Boſphorus appeaſed by Agrippa. *Dio and Lucian. Macrob.*

Diſturbances in the Cimmerian Boſphorus afforded Agrippa an opportunity to exerciſe a little his warlike talents. One Scribonius pretended to be grandſon to Mithridates, how I know not, being difficult to comprehend how a Roman name ſhould be allied to that deſcent. However that may be, he claimed the kingdom of Boſphorus againſt Aſandres, who had uſurped it over Pharnaces, as has been ſaid in the hiſtory of the Republic. Aſandres, to colour his uſurpation, married the daughter of him he had dethron'd, and upwards of ninety years old enjoyed his little dominions in peace, when dreading the conſequences of Scribonius's enterprize, he killed himſelf. Polemon, king of Pontus, was preparing, by Agrippa's order, to attack Scribonius, but the people of Boſphorus killing him themſelves, ſaved the trouble of that war. They remained however in arms, to avoid becoming ſubjects to Polemon. Agrippa went to Sinope, from whence the terror of his name and of the Roman power ſo intimidated the Boſphorans that they reſiſted no longer. They ſubmitted, and Agrippa having made Polemon marry the widow of Aſandres, gave him Boſphorus in conſideration of his marriage with the heireſs of Mithridates and Pharnaces.

He refuſes the triumph, which from that time was reſerved for the Emperors. *Dio.*

He behaved on this occaſion with his uſual modeſty, not writing to the Senate an account of this exploit, but ſending it to Auguſtus, who cauſed a triumph to be decreed him. Agrippa, ever ſtedfaſt to his maxims, refuſed that honour,

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nour, and his example became a law. From that time the Roman Generals received only the ornaments of triumph, that is, the tunic embroidered with palms, the purple robe likewise embroidered, the crown of gold and sceptre: the pomp and pageantry of triumph was reserved to the Emperors and their children. A.R. 738. bef. C. 14.

Tiberius, who by his birth, and as son-in-law to Augustus, had a right to be Consul, likewise deserved it by his services. He was named to that office for the year following, and had for collegue Varus, too well known afterwards by his disaster in Germany.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO. A.R. 739.
P. QUINTILIUS VARUS. bef. C. 13.

UNDER these Consuls Augustus returned to Rome, leaving Drusus in Gaul to finish the numbering of the people, and check the incursions of the Germans. Augustus returns to Rome. Honours decreed him, which he refuses.

The reader may remember how Horace expressed the public sorrow for Augustus's absence. At his return every thing passed just as before on the like occasion: the greatest effusion of joy from the Senate and people; reserve and modesty in the Emperor. The Senate had ordered an altar to be erected in the place destined for their assemblies, to thank the gods for the Prince's return, and that the day on which he made his entry should be a day of general pardon to all criminals that should apply to him. Augustus refused these immoderate honours, and chose, as was his custom, to enter the city at night, to avoid the concourse Suet. Aug. c. 53. Dio.

of

A. R. 739. Ant. C. 13. of all the orders who were preparing to go out to meet him. Next day he received the compliments of the people in his palace; after which he went to the Capitol, and offered up to Jupiter the laurels his Faſces were crowned with. From thence he repaired to the Senate, to give an account, as the old Roman Generals uſed to do, of his management of the public affairs in the Province where he had been; only, as he had got a cold, inſtead of ſpeaking himſelf, he made his Quæſtor read the memorial that had been drawn up by his order.

He reviews the Senate, and retains ſeveral members ready to leave it.

The Senate's power had dwindled away ſo much, that there was no longer that deſire to be a member of it that had formerly animated the chief citizens. Sons and grandſons of Senators finding they ſucceeded only to their fathers titles, and not to their credit, were diſguſted with an honour, before in the greateſt requeſt. They would either not offer themſelves to be admitted into the Senate, or would even withdraw from it; ſome alledging want of parts, others pretending illneſs, others forming different excuſes.

Auguſtus, who wanted to keep up an outward ſhew of dignity in this firſt body of the Republic, thought it would be imprudent to ſuffer members, deſcended from ancient and illuſtrious families, to leave it, and be ſucceeded by men of a modern date, who would but ill ſupport the ſplendor of that rank. He would himſelf inquire into the reality of the motives that made ſeveral abſent themſelves; and to that end paſſed all the Senators in review, examining with his own eyes the condition of thoſe that pretended a bad ſtate of health for their

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their excuſe; requiring from ſuch as pleaded want of ſufficient fortune, a declaration of what they were worth, atteſted by oath, and certified by witneſſes, who were likewiſe to ſwear to the truth of it. He alſo retained a great many members in the Senate, ſupplying their wants by his own liberalities, when thoſe wants did not proceed from bad conduct; and would admit of no excuſe but real infirmities, or bodily impediments. A.R. 739. bef. C. 13.

He profeſſed a great regard for the nobility; and next the Gods [a] the firſt object of his veneration was, thoſe excellent men, whoſe virtues had roſe Rome from ſuch ſmall beginnings to the ſummit of greatneſs. For this reaſon he repaired, or rebuilt, the monuments deſtined to tranſmit the memory of each of them to poſterity, preſerving, as I have before ſaid, their names, and the old inſcriptions; and conſecrated the ſtatues of all the great Roman leaders in the two portico's of the public ſquare he built. This laſt thought [b] was fine, and the end the Prince propoſed by it was ſtill more noble. He publiſhed a declaration, in which he proteſted that his deſign in collecting the repreſentations of all the great men Rome had produced, and putting them together in the ſame place, was to ſhew the citizens by what models he and his ſucceſſors were to be examined and judged. Pompey was not ex- *His regard for the nobility, and reſpect for the memory of the great men of the old Republic. Suet. Aug. c. 31.*

[a] Proximum à diis immortalibus honorem memoriæ ducum præſtitit, qui Imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidiſſent. *Suet. Aug.* 31.

[b] Profeſſus eſt edicto, commentum idſe, ut illorum velut ad exemplar & ipſe dum viveret, & in ſequentium ætatum principes exigerentur à civibus. *Suet. ibid.*

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A.R. 739. bef. C. 13. copted from this homage Auguſtus paid to virtue. He did not think proper indeed to leave the ſtatue of his rival in the Senate-Hall where Cæſar had been killed; but ſtill leſs did he think himſelf at liberty to deſtroy it: wherefore he placed it under a marble arch fronting the theatre Pompey himſelf had built.

Examples of Auguſtus's moderation.

The ſame reaſon and moderation was conſpicuous in all he did. Recommending his children to the people, he always added this condition, *if they deſerve it.* He found fault with their puffing up, by premature honours, the heart of his adopted ſon Caius Cæſar, who, tho' but a child, already ſhewed a great deal of pride and haughtineſs. Tiberius having ſeated Caius next him, at the games he gave to celebrate Auguſtus's return, was reprimanded for it, as were the people for riſing to ſalute Caius, and flattering him by repeated acclamations.

Suet. Aug. 56. & Dio.

Suet. Aug. 54.

In the Senate he would bear, not only not to have his opinion followed, but even to have it ſtrongly oppoſed; nor would he be angry at being told, on ſome occaſions, that Senators ought to be at liberty to ſpeak freely in the affairs of the Republic.

Macrob. Sat. II. 4.

He received with extreme mildneſs the bold remonſtrances of a Roman Knight, of whom he had made ſome complaints, that proved groundleſs. Auguſtus accuſed him of having impaired his fortune: the Knight proved, that, on the contrary, he had added to it. The Emperor then attacked him on another ſcore, alledging his diſobedience to the laws, in being a batchelor: the Knight anſwered he was married,

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ried, and had three children, adding, [a] "Another time, Cæsar, when you would have informations against honest men, employ honest men to procure them." Augustus was silent, and sensible he was in the wrong. A.R. 739. bef. C. 13.

Sisenna, being reproached in full Senate with his wife's bad conduct, did not scruple to address himself to Augustus, telling him, it was with his consent, and by his advice, he married her. The Emperor was piqued; and being naturally hot, perceiving indignation kindle within him, of which he feared not to be master, he rose from his place, went out of the Senate, and came back a few moments after; chusing rather, as he owned to his friends, to be guilty of ill manners, than to run the hazard of being carried too far by passion. *Dio.*

One may see how well he had profited by the lesson Athenodorus of Tarsus had given him. When that philosopher was taking his leave, the Emperor desired he would leave him some piece of useful advice. "Cæsar, said Athenodorus to him, when you find anger rising in you, repeat the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, before you speak or act." Augustus thanked the philosopher for his advice; and taking him by the hand, "Stay with me, said he, I still want your assistance." *Plut. Apothegm. Aug.*

Every one knows the famous story of Mecænas, who seeing him ready to condemn several persons to death, and not being able to get up to him, wrote on his tables these two words, *Surge carnifex*, "Get up, executioner," and threw them to him. Augustus recovering

[a] Posthac, Cæsar, quum de honestis hominibus inquiris, honestis mandato.

himself

A.R. 739. bef. C. 13. himſelf by this ſtrong remonſtrance, broke up the ſitting, and departed with a docility as much to be admired, as the liberty his friend had taken.

Ever moderate and patient in what concerned himſelf, Auguſtus would not deviate from the ſame principles, where thoſe he loved were concerned. A perſon accuſed, was protected by Mecænas and Apuleius; the one miniſter to the Emperor, the other related to him. The accuſer having, without any cauſe, uttered many invectives againſt the protectors of the man he was proſecuting, Auguſtus, who was informed of it, came into court; and ſeating himſelf, only ſaid, he did not like to hear his friends and relations abuſed: then withdrew.

Reflexion on the change in Auguſtus's conduct.

Who would think a man of ſuch amiable mildneſs and moderation had in his youth ſhed ſeas of blood, and was diſtinguiſhed by his cruelty amidſt the moſt cruel of men? This change in Auguſtus is one of the moſt extraordinary events recorded in hiſtory. It is not difficult to find examples of a good nature and happy diſpoſition ſpoiled by too much good fortune, and eſpecially by an unlimited power; but to find bad ones mended by it is extremely rare.

Can we even believe this apparent change in Auguſtus to have been real, unfeigned, and proceeding from a ſincere love of virtue? His cunning artful temper, deep hypocriſy and diſſimulation, would give one room to ſuſpect this outſide ſhew. The ambition of reigning ſeems to me to account for both his virtues and his vices. Crimes were neceſſary to attain that period, and he committed them: when attained,

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attained, virtue became useful to secure the enjoyment of it, and he practised it. A.R. 739. bef. C. 13.

However, if his goodness did not make him perfect, it was at least beneficial to others: and from the time he became master of the Empire, he may boldly be proposed as a model and example to all the Princes of the world.

The place of High Priest being at last vacant by the death of Lepidus, under the Consuls Tiberius and Varus, Augustus added that title to all those he already had, and so united in himself the sacred, civil, and military powers. The first use he made of this new authority was to take from the people all aliments of superstition, fit only to create uneasinesses and disturbance. By his order an exact search was made after all books of divination, and pretended oracles, that were handed about among the citizens; and upwards of two thousand were seized and burnt. Every man was forbid to keep any book of that kind above so many days: such as had them in their custody were to carry them to the Prætor of the city, to be examined by the College of Fifteen. The books of the Sybils alone were preserved, and only such of them as were thought proper: and as the copies of them were spoiled thro' age, Augustus ordered the priests, who had the keeping of them, to transcribe them with their own hands, that so the profane vulgar might not be acquainted with them. The new copies were locked up by his order in gilt cases, and placed under the statue of Apollo.

He is made High Priest. Books of divination suppressed. *Suet. Aug.* c. 31. *Tac. Ann.* VI. 12. *Dio.*

We have already observed, that Augustus was pleased to see the chief of the citizens di- Theatre of Balbus.

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A. R. 739. bef. C. 13. ſtinguiſh themſelves by expences that tended to public utility or ornament: Balbus celebrated this year the dedication of a theatre he had built at his own charge, which was called after his name. He received not only the applauſes of the people, but likewiſe the honour, granted him by Tiberius, then Conſul, of giving his opinion firſt in the Senate. Juſt eſtimators of things will however ſet a greater value on another monument of Balbus's magnificence. He was originally of Cadiz, and built his countrymen a new city near the old one, which was very ſmall; with an arſenal on the continent, over-againſt the iſland on which the city is ſituated: nor could he make a more noble uſe of the immenſe riches he and his uncle had acquired by their attachment to the family of the Cæſars.

New city of Cadiz built by him. *Dio.*

Agrippa's death. *Dio.*

Agrippa received, on his return to Rome from the eaſtern provinces, a freſh proof of Auguſtus's affection and eſteem, being continued in the power of Tribune for five years more. Agrippa's greatneſs ſeemed to encreaſe and gather ſtrength every day; but it was of ſhort duration: the end of his proſperity and life was near: for being ſent directly againſt the Pannonians, * who had taken arms, and having pacified the country by his bare preſence, on his return to Italy he was ſeized in Campania with an acute diſorder, which carried him off in a ſhort time. He died under the Conſulſhip of Meſſala Barbatus and Sulpicius Quirinius.

* *The preſent Hungary anſwers in a great meaſure to the ancient Pannonia.*

M. VALERIUS

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M. VALERIUS MESSALA BARBATUS. A.R. 740.
P. SULPICIUS QUIRINIUS. bef. C. 12.

THE moment Auguſtus was informed of Agrippa's illneſs, he ſet out from Rome to viſit him, but learnt his death on the road. All he could do for ſo good and faithful a friend, to whom he owed ſo much, was to honour his memory by magnificent obſequies, at which himſelf pronounced the funeral oration: and as he had united him living to his perſon and family, ſo he would let Agrippa when dead have no other tomb but that deſtined for himſelf.

His character.

Agrippa was beyond diſpute the firſt man of his age; great in peace, and great in war: equally illuſtrious in battle by ſea or land. 'Twas he that conquered Pompey; and the gain of the battle of Actium was chiefly owing to him. Gaul, Spain, the Eaſt, the countries bordering on the Rhine and Danube, always ſaw him proſperous and triumphant. He wanted nothing but able hiſtorians to give a juſt and proper account of his exploits and military conduct. In peace, ever ſtudying the public good, full of great and noble deſigns, he made his name immortal by works far beyond what was ever done by a private man. Qualified to hold the firſt rank in a Republic, he held the ſecond under Auguſtus, whoſe ſon-in-law, collegue, and intended ſucceſſor he became, merely by dint of his own merit.

The ſtrictneſs of their friendſhip reflects an equal honour on both. Agrippa obtained the Prince's favour without meanneſs; and Au-

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A.R.740. bef.C.12. guſtus raiſed his friend to an equality almoſt with himſelf, and yet was not jealous of him. One only cloud darkens for a time the perfection of their union; and even then both may be excuſed. It is not to be wondered at, that Auguſtus ſhould prefer his nephew to his friend; nor can Agrippa be blamed, if in an infant government, the ſucceſſion of which was not yet ſettled, he felt ſome reluctance at giving up a rank he was in actual poſſeſſion of.

Friend to the Prince, Agrippa was equally beloved by the people, and that love was acquired by honeſt and open means, without oſtentation, without ambitious views. If he ſought the love of the people, it was only as a means to ſecure and eſtabliſh firmly the power of the prince; and the uſe he made of the Prince's favour was to procure happineſs to the people. As a laſt proof of his public ſpirit and magnificence, dying, he left the people the gardens and baths, called by his name, for their free uſe. In other things Auguſtus ſeems to have been his chief heir, and in particular inherited the Cherſoneſe on the Helleſpont, which belonged to Agrippa, by what title is not known.

Whatever grief Auguſtus might feel for the loſs of ſuch a friend, he bore the misfortune with courage. He was univerſally regretted; and ſome public rejoicings happening, according to the time before fixed, to be ſoon after Agrippa's funeral, the Senators would neither celebrate thoſe feſtivals, nor be preſent at the games and ſhews that compoſed a part of them. Auguſtus went himſelf, and preſided over the combats

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combats of gladiators, and by that means brought things back into their former courſe. A.R. 740. bef. C. 12.

Agrippa had ſix children by two wives. By Attica, daughter of Atticus, he had Vipſania, who was married to Tiberius, and became mother of Druſus, only ſon to that Emperor. By Julia, daughter to Auguſtus, Agrippa had three ſons, Caius and Lucius Cæſars, and Agrippa, who being born after his father's death, was for that reaſon called Agrippa Poſthumus: two daughters, Julia, who followed her mother's bad example; and Agrippina, married to Germanicus, the only one of Agrippa's children that did not fully their father's glory. His poſterity.

Agrippa's death raiſed Tiberius a degree higher, and brought him nearer to Auguſtus, whoſe ſon-in-law he became. It was not from any inclination to him that Auguſtus was induced to make Tiberius one of his family, by giving him his daughter in marriage. It ſeems he did not like him at all, and was no ways deceived by his ſon-in-law's deep diſſimulation. He conſidered of it a long time; thought of other matches for her, even Roman knights, and particularly Proculeius, who has been mentioned already more than once. But Auguſtus wanted a ſecond, that might eaſe him of a part of the load of government, and eſpecially what related to the wars againſt the barbarians. Druſus had the care of that againſt the Germans, in which he gained great glory, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſay. At the ſame time the Pannonians learning Agrippa's death, began to ſtir again. Tiberius becomes ſon-in-law to Auguſtus. *Suet. Aug.* 63. *Tac. Ann.* IV. 39 & 40.

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A.R.740. bef. C. 12. *Suet. Tib.* 21. *Tac. Ann.* I. 10. *Suet. Aug.* c. 3. & *Tib.* 7.

Under theſe circumſtances, and Auguſtus's grandſons, become his ſons by adoption; being ſtill very young, neceſſity, rather than choice, determined Auguſtus to pitch upon Tiberius for his ſon-in-law and ſupport. Tiberius on his ſide was fond of his wife Vipſania, then with child; and was well acquainted with Julia's diſſolute life, by advances ſhe had made him. Ambition however got the better of every other conſideration. He repudiated the wife he loved, to take one that deſerved only his contempt and hatred, but who paved the way to empire for him.

He ſubdues the Pannonians.

Immediately after his marriage he was ordered to Pannonia, which he eaſily reduced to obedience, with the aſſiſtance of the Scordiſci, a people bordering on the Pannonians, and like them as to their arms and manner of fighting. He diſarmed the conquered, and ſold moſt of their youth to be carried into remote countries. In conſideration of theſe exploits the Senate intended to decree Tiberius a triumph; but Auguſtus was more reſerved, and granted him only the ornaments of Triumpher. Tiberius, according to ſeveral authors quoted by Suetonius, was the firſt to whom this new kind of decoration, ſubſtituted by the Emperors in lieu of triumph, was given in form.

For the honour of letters, I cannot omit obſerving here, that C. Valgius, an illuſtrious poet, celebrated by Horace and Tibullus, was Conſul elect the year that Meſſala Barbatus and Quirinius were Conſuls in ordinary.

HISTORY

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS

From AUGUSTUS to CONSTANTINE.

BOOK II.

SECT. I.

DESCRIPTION of Germany. Boundaries and extent of Germany. Origin of the name of Germans. All the people of that name had one common origin. National air in their ſhapes and features. Their love of war. Inclination to idleneſs when not at war. Ceremony of arming a young man the firſt time. Numerous retinue of young men attending each of the nobles. No diſcipline in the German armies. No military ſkill. Their armour ſimple and light. Their horſes and cavalry. Songs when going to battle. Their manner of fighting. Their Gods. They built no temples. Their different kinds of divinations. Omens taken from their horſes. Pretended propheteſſes. Veleda. Tradition of the immortality of the ſoul. Government of the Germans. Kings,

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Generals. Assemblies in which great affairs were determined. Judgments, and punishments for crimes. Their manner of living in private. Their neglect to cultivate their lands. No land the property of any one in particular. Annual culture. Gold and silver of no estimation. Amber. Their food plain and simple. Are fond of wine. Daily occupations. Feastings. The most serious affairs were deliberated at them. Their hospitality. No cities. Towns. Houses not contiguous. Subterraneous caves. They remove with great ease. Dress. Marriages. Chastity of the women. Punishment for adultery. Unity of marriage among some people. Obligation to bring up all their children. No education. No marriages concluded in a hurry. No wills. Hereditary enmities, but not implacable. Public shews. Fond of playing at dice. Slaves. Freemen. No usury. Funerals. Remarks on some people of Germany. Sicambri. Usipii and Tencteri. Bructeri. Catti. Cauci. Cherusci. Frisons. Suevi. German nations settled on this side the Rhine. Continual wars of the Germans with the Romans for five hundred years. Their motions after the invasion of the Cimbrians. Lollius defeated by the Sicambri. Augustus goes into Gaul, and on his return from thence leaves Drusus there. Drusus establishes peace in Gaul. Temple and altar of Lions. Drusus marches against the Germans. Canal made by him to join the Rhine and Issel. He enters Germany by sea, and gains great advantages. Drusus's second campaign in Germany. Third. Fourth. His death, and funeral. Honours done his memory. His character. His marriage and children.

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children. Tiberius's ovation. He is sent into Germany. He settles peace there. Honours decreed Augustus for the conquests in Germany. General peace. Temple of Janus closed.

The GERMAN WAR.

I HAVE already spoken more than once of Augustus's war with the Germans: but as it has hitherto afforded few events, waited for its becoming more interesting, before I would treat of it in particular. The year of Rome 740 was the beginning of those exploits in which Drusus deservedly acquired the glory and character of one of the greatest Generals of the Augustan age. The subject would be very fertile, had there been historians of abilities equal to the events; or, at least, if those who did record them properly, had been transmitted to us. Before I collect and present the reader with what little we know on that subject, I think it may be proper to give here a short description of Germany, of the people that inhabited it, and of their ancient manners and customs. Tacitus, who wrote a treatise purposely on it, will be my chief guide. Cæsar has not given us such circumstantial accounts, nor could he. This vast region, into which he was the first Roman that entered, and that without penetrating far, was much less known in his time than in Tacitus's.

A.R. 740. bef. C. 12.

Description of Germany.

Tac. Germ. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. IV. 1. & VI. 21.

The boundaries of ancient Germany were not the same with those of the present Empire of that name. It was divided from Gaul by the Rhine; from Rhetia and Pannonia by the Danube; from the Sarmati, on the East, by the Vistula.

Boundaries and extent of Germany.

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Viſtula. Tacitus extends it north, as far as the Romans had then any knowledge of geography in that part of the globe, and includes in it the countries our geographers call Scandinavia. This immenſe tract of land contained a great number of different nations, ſome of the moſt remarkable of which will be taken notice of in the courſe of this work, with their moſt diſtinguiſhing characters. I ſhall begin with a deſcription of antient Germany in general.

Origin of the name German.

The name *Germans* was not the old primordial name of thoſe people. It was given them by the Gauls bordering on the left ſide of the Rhine, who having experienced their valour, expreſſed by this name the terror cauſed by thoſe *warlike men:* for that is the ſignification of the word * *German.* The conquerors adopted a name that did them honour; and the Romans learning it from the Gauls, have made it famous, and perpetuated it.

All the people of that name had one common origin.

The Germans handed down ſtrange ſtories of their origin, recorded in old ſongs; the only hiſtorical monuments known to the Barbarians of all countries and all times. I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and only obſerve, that, among ſo great a variety of people, the ſame common origin was plainly indicated by a ſet of features common to the whole nation, and peculiar to the Germans, ſo as to diſtinguiſh them from people of other countries; and their inclinations and way of living were as ſingular.

* German *is compoſed of* Gerra *and* Man. Gerra, *or* Guerra, *is a Celtic word, ſignifying* War, *and* Man *in German anſwers to our Engliſh word* Man.

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The Germans had blue eyes, and a fierce look; long hair of a light ſandy colour; great bodies; vigorous for a ſhort time, but unable to bear fatigue; hardened againſt cold by the rigour of their climate, and inured to hunger from the ſterility of their country; owing, however, more to want of culture than to badneſs of ſoil; eaſily dejected by thirſt or heat. There was a likeneſs or reſemblance in them all, becauſe their blood was pure and unmixed. Formidable in war, inhabiting a poor and diſmal country, they poſſeſſed nothing that could induce ſtrangers to traffic with them, and ſtill leſs any thing fit to tempt them to ſettle there: and having no ambition themſelves, either to grow rich or to enlarge their territory, they generally kept within the bounds of their own country. National air in their ſhapes and features.

They were all fond of war, and loved it for itſelf: they ſought neither riches, which they knew no uſe for, nor an ample dominion; their glory conſiſting in ſeeing vaſt ſolitudes around them; that being, in their opinion, a mark of ſuperiority over the people they had driven thence, and a uſeful precaution to guard againſt the ſudden incurſions of their enemies. War pleaſed them as a ſcene of action, and the way to glory. Their love of war.

The emulation, on this head, between the Gauls and Germans, was as old as the two nations: and Cæſar obſerves, the Gauls had had the advantage in the moſt diſtant times; for their colonies had forced their way into Germany, and by open force had taken ſeveral countries of which they kept poſſeſſion. In after-times, the Gauls, grown more effeminate by

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by their commerce with the Romans, by riches and luxury, became inferior to the Germans, whose hard, poor, and laborious way of life kept up their ſtrength of body, and courage of mind. Thence came the German conqueſts on the left of the Rhine; but they could not penetrate into the heart of Gaul, being ſtopped and repulſed by the Roman arms. All they could do was to keep their ground on the borders, and that they did ſo well, that all the country from Baſle down to the mouth of the Rhine was called Germany, and divided by Auguſtus into two provinces of that name, Upper and Lower Germany.

They were ſo paſſionately fond of war, that if any of the people chanced to be too long at peace, the youth of that diſtrict, full of impatience, unable to be at reſt, and ſeeking renown and glory in the midſt of danger, would either ſeek war with ſtrangers, or attack their neighbours to keep themſelves in employ: for with them, no idea of ſhame was annexed to plunder or robbery committed out of their own territory; on the contrary, it was thought a uſeful and honourable way of employing youth, and keeping them from indolence and inaction.

Inclination to idleneſs when not at war.

This fierce nation liked no occupation but war and arms: even * hunting had but ſmall charms in their eyes. As to agriculture, it was in their opinion an ignoble profeſſion, of no

* *I follow Tacitus. Cæſar* (de B. G. VI. 21.) *makes the Germans equally fond of war and hunting.* Vita omnis in venationibus atque in ſtudiis rei militaris conſiſtit. *Theſe different accounts may be reconciled, if we ſuppoſe Cæſar ſpeaks of the young men in particular, and Tacitus of thoſe of riper years.*

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other eſtimation than what abſolute neceſſity made it. They thought it [a] ſhameful to purchaſe with their ſweat what they could acquire with their blood: ſo that when they were not at war, they were totally idle: to eat, drink, and ſleep was their only buſineſs. The neceſſary care of houſhold affairs was committed to the women, and old men, and other weaker parts of the family: the more valiant and robuſt men thought it beneath them to have any thing to do. An odd contraſt, [b] ſays Tacitus, in the character of theſe people, to hate reſt, and yet love idleneſs.

Their arms were never laid aſide in the moſt profound peace: whether public or private affairs were to be diſcuſſed, ſtill they went armed. When a young man was firſt armed, it was with great ceremony, and the approbation of the whole Canton. One of the chiefs, either the father, or ſome near relation, preſented him at a general aſſembly; and with the conſent of thoſe preſent gave him a buckler and a lance. This ceremony, with them, anſwered the virile robe of the Romans: it was the firſt ſtep a young man was to take on entering the world: before that, he belonged to his family; but after it was a member of the ſtate.

Ceremony of arming a young man the firſt time.

Such as were diſtinguiſhed by ancient nobility, or great ſervices done by their forefathers, ranked at once from their younger years as Chiefs or Princes in the Canton where they were born. The other young men attached

Numerous retinue of young men attending each of the nobles.

[a] Pigrum et iners videtur ſudore acquirere, quod poſſis ſanguine parare. *Tac. Germ.* 14.

[b] Mirâ diverſitate naturæ, quum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. *Tac. Germ.* 15.

themſelves

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themſelves to ſome brave and illuſtrious warrior, to whom they formed a retinue. It was no diſhonour to be ſuch a follower to a great man, and compoſe as it were a part of his houſhold. This retinue was a military body, and had its different ranks of honour, which the chief gave to whom he liked beſt: a ſtrong motive of emulation for thoſe young people: as was likewiſe the ambition of the chiefs, who ſhould have the fineſt and moſt numerous retinue. Their pride and ſtrength conſiſted in it; and their greateſt glory was to be ſurrounded by a troop of fine young fellows, their ornament in peace, and ſupport in war. Their diſtinction in this would ſpread to neighbouring nations, and even draw embaſſies and preſents from them; and would ſometimes be ſufficient to put an advantageous end to wars, merely by the terror it ſpread round about.

A retinue of ſuch brave young men was in fact able to make their commander be reſpected. For as in fight it was ſhameful for the chief to be conquered by the ſuperior valour of his enemy, ſo it was an equal reproach to his retinue not to equal their chief in courage: but above all, to return alive from an action, in which the chief had periſhed, was a ſtain never to be wiped off his followers. The firſt and chief article of their engagement was to defend him, to preſerve him from danger, and do him honour by their brave actions. The chiefs fought for victory, the young people for their * chief.

* *This kind of enliſting and devoting themſelves was practiſed among all the Celtic people. The Spaniards uſed it, as we have obſerved in the Hiſtory of the Roman Republic, ſpeaking of Sertorius.* T. x. p. 276.

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The whole retinue was maintained by the chief, at whoſe houſe they were always ſure to find a table plentifully, tho' not delicately, ſpread. This alone was a great expence: but beſides that, there was a neceſſity of rewarding the bravery of his followers, and of ſhewing his magnificence by extraordinary gifts. War was the chief ſource where to provide for it; continual expeditions, incurſions and plunders were to furniſh out that great expence: the chief was likewiſe aſſiſted by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of his Canton, who made him preſents of corn and cattle: a homage as uſeful as it was honourable to him that received it. But the moſt [a] glorious and moſt valuable gifts were thoſe that ſometimes came from neighbouring nations, as I have juſt ſaid, to chiefs of diſtinguiſhed merit, whoſe reputation had reached remote parts. Theſe gifts, the tributes of eſteem and admiration paid to their valour, conſiſted in fine horſes for the field, ſtrong armour, harneſſes, breaſt plates, &c. And of late, ſays Tacitus, we have taught them to receive money too.

No diſcipline in the German armies.

All warlike merit among the Germans conſiſted in being brave; diſcipline, military ſkill, and proper kinds of armour, were things unknown to them: and indeed what diſcipline could there be in an army, the Generals of which had no power to inflict any puniſhment? Their example was what the ſoldiers followed more than their command. When their valour

[a] Gaudent præcipuè finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo à ſingulis, ſed publicè mittuntur: electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ torqueſque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus. *Tac. Germ.* 15.

was

was conſpicuous, when they were ſeen at the head of the ranks in the heat of battle, admiration then compelled obedience: but they had no right to put to death, to load with irons, or even to ſtrike any ſoldier. The prieſts only had that power; nor did even they dare to inflict any rigours under the name of puniſhment, nor ſeem to act by the General's order. Jealous of their liberties, they would obey none but their gods. When a delinquent was to be puniſhed, the prieſt put on the authority of a pretended divine inſpiration, and vouched it to be the will of the god of war and battle.

Their manner of forming the ſeveral corps of which their armies were compoſed, greatly promoted their natural valour, but I doubt whether it could add to their diſcipline. They were not diſtributed into regiments by general officers, to ſtation each man where the good of the ſervice moſt required: all of the ſame family, or any ways related, formed themſelves into companies, ſquadrons or batallions: their wives and children went with them to the wars. The cries of the one, and tears of the other, animated the combatants, and gave them new courage. They were the witneſſes they moſt reſpected, the panegyriſts whoſe praiſes they moſt valued. They ran to ſhew their wives and mothers the wounds they had received; nor were the women afraid to inſpect thoſe wounds, nor even to ſuck them clean. They carried them refreſhments, and exhorted them in the midſt of battle to behave bravely. They have often been ſeen to reſtore loſt courage to the affrighted troops, and by their paſſionate and urgent entreaties rally them, and make them return

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return again to the enemy; throwing themſelves in the way of thoſe that were flying from battle, and upbraiding them with the captivity into which they were going to betray them, deſcribing it in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetic manner. The reader may remember what the wives of the Teutons and Cimbrians did on a like occaſion; and how, in the danger they were threatened with, they carried their courage even to fury.

All this was very proper to make them fight well, but not to make diſciplined ſoldiers of them. Theſe family aſſociations may be conſidered as ſo many bodies apart, by which the general intereſt was divided, and the harmony and concert of the whole obſtructed. Each chief of a band had an authority inherent in his own perſon, no ways dependant on the commander in chief. A fortuitous concourſe, the parts of which compoſed a whole.

No military ſkill.

I have already ſaid the Germans had no military ſkill: that knowledge depends on reflections more profound, and on a greater number of arts than barbarians were ever maſters of.

Their armour ſimple and light.

Their armour was very ſimple; few of them had either ſwords or long pikes; in general they uſed only javelins, the German name of which, *framea*, was adopted in the Latin tongue. They were armed with a ſhort ſlender head of iron, and were uſed two ways, either to dart againſt the enemy at a diſtance, or in cloſe fight. Their cavalry had no other offenſive weapon: the foot ſoldiers, beſides thoſe javelins, had arrows, which they would ſhoot to a prodigious diſtance with vaſt ſtrength. A

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buckler was their only defence; helmets and cuiraſſes were hardly ever uſed by them. They generally fought half naked, or at moſt had but a looſe kind of coat about them. Their ſtandards were images of beaſts, conſecrated in their woods, from whence they took them when going to war.

Their horſes and cavalry.

Their horſes were not remarkable either for beauty or ſwiftneſs, but would bear a great deal of fatigue, being uſed to it by conſtant exercife: they were not managed; the Germans knew only how to drive them ſtrait on, or make them wheel to the right, ſo that following one another, they of courſe drew up in a circle. They rode them without any covering, thinking ſaddles ſo effeminate, ſhameful and unmanly, that they held in the higheſt contempt thoſe that made uſe of them, and would never be afraid to attack them however ſuperior their numbers might be. They would often light from their horſes to fight, and leave them at a diſtance, having uſed them to ſtand ſtill, and go back to them when they had occaſion for them. This was but a bad way of fighting: in general the infantry was the great ſtrength of their armies, for which reaſon they mixed foot with their horſe: a cuſtom mentioned and approved of by Cæſar, as I have elſewhere obſerved.

Songs when going to battle.

When going to battle they would rouſe their courage by ſongs, in praiſe of their old heroes, and exhortations to imitate them: at the ſame time they gathered from thoſe ſongs an omen of the ſucceſs of the battle: for according to the loudneſs and tone of the ſound proceeding from

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from that mixture of voices, they framed either fears or expectations of ſucceſs. One may eaſily think ſuch a noiſe could not be very harmonious: yet that uncouth ſound, that hoarſe murmur, encreaſed and made ſtill deeper by clapping their bucklers on purpoſe before their mouths, was what charmed their ears, and was thought a preſage of victory.

Their manner of fighting.

As brave as the Germans were, they did not pique themſelves on keeping their ranks, or remaining firm in their poſts: to give way, provided they returned to the attack, was no ſhame, but on the contrary a mark of intelligence and dexterity: the buckler however was not to be left in the enemy's power: that was with them, as with all the ancients, the greateſt infamy. Thoſe who ſuffered ſo diſhonourable an affront could no longer be admitted to any religious ceremonies, nor any aſſemblies of the people; and ſeveral under thoſe circumſtances have ended their ignominy by a voluntary death.

Such were the Germans with regard to war; and I have begun this deſcription of them with that, becauſe war was their paſſion, their profeſſion, and moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic.

Their gods. They built no temples.

Their religion was very rude and undigeſted; according to Cæſar, they had hardly any at all, acknowledging no other gods than what they ſaw, the ſun, the fire, and the moon: they offered no ſacrifices, nor had any prieſts conſecrated to them: but Cæſar ſeems not to have been exactly informed in this; and what may have led him into a miſtake was, that in fact the Germans had no temples: thinking, with

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the Perſians, that it is degrading the majeſty of God to ſhut him up within the compaſs of a building, or cover him with a roof, or liken him to any human thing. Their religious ceremonies were performed in the thickeſt parts of their foreſts: ſilence and the ſhade of woods that formed their ſanctuaries, filled them with a kind of religious terror, and their reſpect and veneration were ſo much the greater as no viſible object ſtruck their eyes.

But beſides the divinities Cæſar mentions, which are beings ſubſiſting in nature, the Germans worſhipped, according to Tacitus, pretended gods, which they did not ſee, ſuch as Mercury and Mars; and heroes deified, as Hercules. Even Iſis, an Egyptian goddeſs, was honoured by the Suevi; nor can we account how this foreign cult could ſpread ſo far from its native place: only the form of a ſhip, in which they repreſented that divinity, ſeems to indicate that they had it from another country.

Mercury was the chief of their gods, and on certain days they ſacrificed human victims to him: to Mars and Hercules they offered only blood of animals: the latter was with them, as with the Greeks and Romans, the god of valour; and when going to battle they ſung his praiſes as the moſt valiant of heroes.

Their different kinds of divination. Omens taken from their horſes.

Auſpices and other kinds of divination could not fail to be in vogue with ſo ignorant a people. Chance, the flight of birds, their ſinging, were methods of inquiring into futurity, which they had in common with moſt other nations: but they had a kind of divination peculiar to themſelves,

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themſelves, by omens taken from their horſes. They kept in their ſacred woods, at the public expence, white horſes, that did no kind of work for the ſervice of man: when they were to be conſulted to know the will of the divinity, they were put to a ſacred carr; the prieſt, and king or chief of the canton, walked by them as they went, and noted the ſnortings and neighings of thoſe creatures as ſo many indications of the will of heaven. Of all their auſpices this was moſt reſpected, and had the greateſt ſanction of applauſe from high and low. The prieſts pretended to nothing higher than being miniſters of the gods, but the horſes were their confidants and admitted into their ſecrets. One would be aſtoniſhed how a ſuperſtition ſo abſurd, ſo ſhameful to humanity, could ever take place, were it not that the moſt civilized nations afford many examples equally groſs and ridiculous.

The Germans had another way of prognoſticating the event of important wars. They tried to take one of the enemy priſoner, and then made him fight one of their own men, each armed according to the cuſtom of his country: the event of that ſingle combat was a preſage of the general ſucceſs of the war. To this notion, equally practiſed by the Gauls, we may probably aſcribe the combats in which T. Manlius and M. Valerius ſignalized themſelves, and acquired, one the ſurname of Torquatus, and the other that of Corvus.

The laſt inſtance Tacitus affords me of German ſuperſtition, is the opinion received among them, that there was in women ſomething ſacred, Pretended prophetesses, Veleda.

cred, divine, and fit to make them interpreters of the will of the gods. Some pretended propheteſs always engroſſed their confidence; and if the event happened luckily to agree with her anſwer, they inſtantly honoured her as a goddeſs; and that, from a real perſuaſion that ſhe was ſuch, and not after the Roman faſhion, who paid divine honours to their Emperors, whilſt they well knew them to be but mere men, and often too the very worſt of men.

Tac. Hiſt. iv. 61--65. Tacitus brings us acquainted with one in particular who played thoſe tricks in his time, and in the wars of Civilis againſt the Romans. Her name was Veleda; ſhe was a virgin, and ſovereign of a large territory among the Bructeri. She acted her part very dexterouſly, dwelling in a high tower, and granting no body an eaſy acceſs, with deſign to make herſelf the more reſpected. Thoſe who came to conſult her were not allowed to preſent their petitions themſelves, but a relation of her's uſed to receive them, and brought back the propheteſs's anſwer.

Tradition of the immortality of the ſoul. I muſt not omit that this people, barbarous as they were, had a tradition of the immortality of the ſoul, and that they believed, as well as the Gauls, they ſhould paſs into a happier ſtate after this life.

Government of the Germans. Kings, Generals. I come now to their government, in the form of which their love of liberty and independence was ſtrongly prevalent. Every thing was elective. [a] They choſe their Kings, ſays Tacitus, from among their nobles, and their Generals

[a] Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute ſumunt. Tac. *Germ.* 7.

from

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from among their moſt valiant men. Cæſar will help us to explain and amend what ſeems wanting here. A people, compoſed of ſundry cantons, had no common chief over them whilſt at peace: each canton was ruled by its own magiſtrate, and thoſe magiſtrates were probably what Tacitus calls Kings. In war they all agreed, and choſe a General to command the whole of their united forces. *Cæſar. de B. G. vi. 23.*

We have ſeen how limited the power of thoſe Generals was in their armies. Their Kings or chief magiſtrates were not leſs cramped in civil affairs. Every thing was decided by plurality of voices. A council, compoſed of the chief citizens, ſettled all matters of leſs importance; ſuch as were thought of more weight were laid before the aſſembly of the people.

Their general aſſemblies were held at ſtated times; and unleſs ſomething very extraordinary and unforeſeen happened, it was at the new and full moon; ſuperſtitiouſly thinking that the moſt lucky time. It was perhaps owing to this veneration for the moon, that the Germans as well as the Gauls reckoned by nights and not by days, as if night had been the principal part of the revolution of the four and twenty hours. Perhaps too this cuſtom, practiſed by other nations, and particularly by the Hebrews, might take its riſe from a more reſpectable cauſe, and originally proceed from the order of the creation, according to which, as the ſcripture tells us, night preceded day. **Aſſemblies in which great affairs were determined,**

It required ſome time to form theſe aſſemblies. Averſe to all conſtraint, and perhaps naturally ſlow, the Germans had no notion of

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being exact to their appointed times of meeting: two or three days were often ſpent in waiting for loiterers. When they thought themſelves a ſufficient number, every man took his place, armed according to cuſtom; and the prieſts, who on this occaſion likewiſe had a coactive power, proclaimed ſilence. Then the King or chief of the canton, or ſome other of diſtinguiſhed birth, age, bravery, or eloquence, ſpake, not [a] to dictate the law, but to inſinuate what he thought beſt to be done. If his opinion was not reliſhed, the aſſembly ſignified their diſlike by a murmur: if it pleaſed, their approbation was ſhewn by claſhing their javelins. To applaud with their arms was, in the opinion of that warlike people, the greateſt demonſtration of ſatisfaction that could be given.

Judgments and puniſhments for crimes.

Criminal matters were likewiſe judged by this ſupreme tribunal: the puniſhments were different according to the nature of the crimes: traitors to their country and deſerters were hung up on trees: cowards, ſuch as had fled before the enemy, and thoſe that had diſhonoured themſelves by their laſcivious and lewd behaviour, were drowned under a hurdle in muddy water. The Germans [b] thought notorious crimes ought to have notorious puniſhments; and ſhameful actions be buried in the deep.

Crimes that hurt only particular perſons were not puniſhed with near ſo much rigour. The criminal, even in caſes of murder, was acquitted

[a] Auctoritate ſuadendi magis quàm jubendi poteſtate. TAC. *Germ.* II.

[b] Diverſitas ſupplicii illuc reſpicit, tanquam ſcelera oſtendi oporteat dum puniuntur, flagitia abſcondi. TAC. *Germ.* 12.

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in conſideration of a certain number of horſes or cattle, more or leſs, according to the nature of the offence; and that fine or forfeiture was divided, one half to the king and public, and the other to the party injured, or the perſon who proſecuted the murderer. This exceſſive indulgence is ſtill to be found in the laws of the Franks, Bourguignons, and other German people ſettled in Gaul; only with this difference, that money being then more common among them, penalties for mutilating, and even for murder, are taxed at a certain number of pieces of money.

Their manner of living in private.

There ſtill remains to ſpeak of the Germans manner of living in private; of their poſſeſſions, domeſtic cuſtoms, amuſements and diverſions. We ſhall find them very barbarous in all theſe things, in a pure and unciviliſed ſtate of nature, ſuch as may be expected from men governed only by the impreſſion of their ſenſes, and confined to the narrow circle of objects around them.

Their neglect to cultivate their lands.

The country they inhabited was fruitful enough, except for ſuch productions as required heat: and yet all Germany, ſo well peopled now, was then covered with woods and great lakes. The foreſt of Hercynia, ſo famous among the ancients, was, according to Cæſar, nine days journey over: for ſo the Germans uſed to reckon diſtances, having no itinerary meaſures. Its length was immenſe, extending croſs all Germany from the Rhine to the Viſtula, and that with many turnings and windings; ſo that the end of it had not yet been found, after ſixty days march.

Thus

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Thus did the inhabitants leave untilled a country ready to enrich them, except a ſmall part that neceſſity forced them to cultivate for corn. That was the only tribute they required from the earth: no gardens, no fruits, no care for meadows or paſtures: ſo far from reaping the gifts of Autumn, they had not even a name for that ſeaſon: Winter, Spring, and Summer was the ſole diviſion of their year. Even what little land they did cultivate, they never deſired to be owners of, but would let the firſt comer take it the next year, whilſt they looked out for another ſpot to till, whenever their proviſions began to grow ſcanty.

No land the property of any one in particular. Annual culture.

This practice was not a bare cuſtom introduced; it was a law which the magiſtrates took care to ſee obſerved: they alledged ſeveral reaſons for it, all ariſing from the ſame ſource, the love of war, and the advantages reſulting from a plain poor way of life: they ſaid that if their citizens were allowed to inherit poſſeſſions, they might grow fonder of agriculture than of arms: that they might want to increaſe thoſe poſſeſſions, which would be an opening to the ſtronger to injure and oppreſs the weaker: that it might induce them to build with more care, and to grow more fond of the conveniencies of life: that the love of money, ſource of quarrels and factions, might prevail in their hearts: in ſhort, they alledged the advantage of keeping the common people the more eaſily within bounds, as they could not be diſſatisfied with their lot, whilſt they were on an equal footing with the greateſt. This way of thinking, though condemned by the example of all civiliſed

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civiliſed nations, does not perhaps deſerve all the contempt we load it with; at leaſt it cannot but be allowed very proper to keep up a high courage, a hatred to tyranny, and a zeal for liberty.

Their whole riches conſiſted in ſmall, lean, ill-looking cattle, of which they had great numbers. Either they had no gold nor ſilver, or they ſet no value on it. Tacitus ſays, that if they had any piece of plate, that had been given them in an embaſſy, or ſent by ſome foreign Prince, they thought no more of it than of their common earthen-ware. Thoſe however that bordered on the Romans, valued gold and ſilver, on account of its uſefulneſs in trade: that that was the only reaſon why they ſet any value at all on thoſe metals, appears plainly from this; they liked ſilver money beſt, becauſe it was moſt convenient to thoſe that wanted to buy or ſell only things of little value. In the inner part of Germany, their traffic was carried on with all the ſimplicity of ancient times, by exchange of merchandize. Gold and ſilver of no eſtimation.

Thoſe who inhabited the coaſt of the Baltic towards the Viſtula (Tacitus calls them Eſtians) received a valuable preſent from the ſea, which in other hands might have become a ſource of riches: I mean amber, which the Romans ſet a great value on. The ſea throws up lumps of it on that coaſt, and the Eſtians had only the trouble to pick it up. They called it *Gleſſum*, (glaſs) in their language. It had been long neglected, as an excrement of the ſea: the Roman luxury taught them to prize it. Finding it was in requeſt, the Barbarians gathered it up with Amber.

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with more care; but they brought it quite brute, and without any preparation, and were aſtoniſhed at the prices they received for it.

In Tacitus's time the nature of amber was not known: he took it for a kind of gum, or roſin, that dropped from trees into the ſea, and there hardened. Our modern naturaliſts have found it to be a bituminous ſubſtance formed in the veins of the earth, whence it paſſes into the ſea, and there grows hard. Foſſile amber is likewiſe found not only in Pruſſia, but in Provence, Italy and Sicily.

Godfrey de Mat. Med. T. 1.

Their food plain and ſimple. Are fond of wine.

Corn, as we have ſaid, was a great part of the Germans food: to that they added milk and cheeſe, with the fleſh of their own cattle, and what game they killed in hunting: without ſkill in cookery, without nicety, or knowledge of ſeaſonings and ragouts, they eat merely to ſatisfy hunger: beer was their uſual drink; and Tacitus thinks wine was uſed only by thoſe who living near the Rhine could come at it conveniently. But at the ſame time he obſerves how exceſſively fond they were of that liquor. If [a] you indulge them in it, ſays he, if you will give them as much wine as they would have, thoſe people, ſo difficult to conquer by arms, can never reſiſt vice, and will be eaſily ſubdued. The Suevi, who poſſeſſed a great part of Germany, were ſenſible of the danger; and to prevent it, and not be enervated by that bewitching drink, they would not, in Cæſar's time, ſuffer wine to be brought into their country.

[a] Si indulſeris ebrietati, ſuggerendo quantum concupiſcunt, haud minùs facilè vitiis, quàm armis vincentur. *Tac. Germ.* 23.

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In the German manner of ſpending their time, we muſt not expect to find any of the occupations in uſe with us. They had neither men of letters, nor artiſts, nor lawyers, nor merchants, nor any of thoſe profeſſions. They ſlept till day, then bathed, generally in a warm bath in Tacitus's time: an effeminacy they learnt undoubtedly from the Romans, and which degenerated from the old German hardineſs. Cæſar ſays they uſed to bathe themſelves in rivers, and we have elſewhere taken notice of their cuſtom of plunging new-born children into the Rhine: after bathing, they eat ſomething plain and ſimple, as all their food was: then went out, either about their buſineſs, or more uſually to ſome feaſt, where they would drink to exceſs, none of them thinking it any ſhame to ſpend day and night in drinking. Intemperance often produced quarrels that did not end in words only: paſſionate, and always armed, they ſoon came to blows, and wounds and death often concluded a feaſt began with joy and merriment.

Daily occupations. Feaſtings.

Rom. Hiſt. T. XII.

The moſt ſerious affairs were canvaſſed at theſe feaſts; ſuch as reconciling enemies, marriages, elections of their Princes, and whatever related to peace or war. They thought no place fitter than table frankly to lay their hearts open, and to raiſe and elevate their minds to great and noble ideas. Naturally [b] plain and in-

The moſt ſerious affairs were deliberated at them.

[b] Gens non aſtuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc ſecreta pectoris, licentiâ loci. Ergo detecta & nuda omnium mens poſterâ die retractatur. Et ſalva utriuſque temporis ratio eſt. Deliberant, dum fingere neſcient: conſtituunt, dum errare non poſſunt. *Tac. Germ.* 22.

genuous,

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genuous, void of duplicity and diſſimulation, the gaiety and warmth attending a feaſt induced them to give a looſe to their inmoſt thoughts. They met again next day, when, knowing each others ſentiments, they coolly reſumed the ſubject that had been debated the day before. Thus, in their opinion, they allotted to each thing its proper time; deliberating whilſt they could not diſſemble; and determining, when there was no longer any danger of miſtaking.

Their hoſpitality.

No people ever carried hoſpitality to a greater height. To refuſe ones houſe or table to any mortal living, was, with the Germans, a crime of the blackeſt dye, bordering on impiety. Every man was welcome, and treated in the beſt manner they could afford: when nothing more was left, the maſter of the houſe carried his gueſt to the next family, where, though no invitation had preceded, they were received with the ſame cordiality and hearty welcome: friends or ſtrangers, they made no difference; their hoſpitality extended alike to all. If the ſtranger, when going away, aſked for any thing he liked, it was cuſtomary to give it him; and if, on the other hand, there was any thing in his baggage that pleaſed them, they would aſk it with the ſame ſimplicity. [a] This reciprocal commerce of preſents pleaſed them, but friendſhip or inclination had no ſhare in it; no acknowledgment was expected in return for a gift, nor did the perſon who received it think himſelf under any obligation.

[a] Gaudent muneribus: ſed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur. *Tac. Germ.* 21.

Germany,

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Germany, now ſo full of fine cities, had not one at the time we are ſpeaking of. Not that the Germans imitated entirely the wandering Scythian, whoſe dwelling place conſiſts of the cart, in which he carries his family from one place to another. They had houſes, and in ſome parts many of them together, ſo as to form a kind of little town; but even there we are not to ſuppoſe thoſe houſes contiguous and joining each other; every one was diſtinct and ſeparate. Where a German met with a wood, a ſpring, or a field that pleaſed him, there he ſettled, and built himſelf a dwelling place, without ſtones or tiles; rough pieces of timber were ſufficient for his purpoſe; ſtudying neither beauty nor convenience in their houſes; only ſome parts were covered with an earth, ſays Tacitus, ſo neat and ſhining that it looked like painting. Was it not ſome kind of earth burnt of the nature of our earthen-ware? The Germans uſed likewiſe to dig caves under ground, and covered them with dung: thither they would retire from the extream rigour of the cold; at the ſame time they ſerved for magazines, in which their corn was laid up in ſafety, in caſe they were invaded by any enemy.

No cities. Towns. Houſes not contiguous. Subterraneous caves.

We ſee by this the Germans were not fixed to any particular ſpot to dwell in. No land the abſolute property of any man; their houſes uncouth, more properly deſerving the name of huts; poſſeſſing nothing but their cattle; they, ſtrictly ſpeaking, were not fixed or attached to any thing: and, by this means, not only particular perſons and families, but whole people, would remove with as much eaſe as a houſe-keeper

They remove with great eaſe. *Strabo, l.* VII.

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keeper in London does from one ſtreet to another. For this reaſon it is not eaſy to aſſign the limits of the ſeveral German people or nations; they varied continually.

Dreſs. The Germans were as ſimple in their dreſs as in every thing elſe: half naked, covered only with a kind of looſe coat, faſtened before with a claſp, or more generally with only a thorn: in that equipage they would ſit whole days by the fire ſide: the richer ſort dreſſed a little better; their cloaths were ſomewhat like thoſe worn by us at preſent, that is, they ſat cloſe to the body, and ſhewed the ſhape. They likewiſe wore ſkins and fine furrs, eſpecially thoſe that lived far up in the country in the more northern parts. The women's dreſs differed little from the mens, only it was generally made of flax, and ornamented with purple borders. They wore no ſleeves, but went with their arms and breaſts uncovered; a cuſtom not quite agreeable to the virtue and modeſty they profeſſed on other occaſions.

Marriages. Chaſtity of the women. For the Germans were very chaſte in marriage, and in that reſpect Tacitus thinks them deſerving the higheſt praiſes: plurality of wives was unknown to them, unleſs it chanced to happen to ſome Prince, whoſe alliance was ſtrongly ſollicited and eſteemed an honour. The huſband gave the wife a dowry: but the preſents he made her were not ſuch as tended to encourage dreſs, luxury or delicacy: they conſiſted in a yoke of oxen, a horſe with a bridle and bit, a buckler, a ſpear and a ſword. In return, ſhe brought her huſband ſome piece of armour. This ceremony formed between them

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them the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſacred tie: neither auſpices, nor the God of Hymen, nor ceremonies of ſacrifices, could be held in greater veneration by the Romans. [a] The preſents given by the huſband were of ſuch a nature as contained an important leſſon for the wife: they taught her not to think herſelf, on account of her ſex, diſpenſed from being bold and courageous, or expoſing herſelf to danger; that in peace or war ſhe was to ſhare her huſband's fate, and ought to have the ſame firmneſs and reſolution; that ſhe was to ſhare fatigues and dangers with him, and be attached to him even to death. And accordingly theſe precious ſymbols were religiouſly preſerved by the wife, that her daughters-in-law might one day receive them from the ſons ſhe hoped to bring up, and they tranſmit them in the ſame manner to their poſterity.

The [b] conduct of the German women in their married ſtate was agreable to thoſe ſtrict and generous engagements: remote from all occaſions of corruption, frequenting no public ſhews or plays, and unacquainted with the diſſoluteneſs of feaſtings and pleaſures, their chaſtity was inviolable. Neither men nor women had, with them, learnt the art of con-

[a] Ne ſe mulier extra virtutum cognationes, extraque bellorum caſus putet, ipſis incipientis matrimonii auſpiciis admonetur, venire ſe laborum periculorumque ſociam: idem in pace, idem in prælio paſſuram auſuramque. Hoc junĉti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denunciant. *Tac. Germ.* 18.

[b] Septâ pudicitiâ agunt, nullis ſpectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ. Litterarum ſecreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant. *Tac. Germ.* 19.

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veying billet-doux, ſource of ſo many ſeduc-
Puniſhment for adultery. tions. If, however, any one diſhonoured herſelf by adultery, the puniſhment ſoon followed the crime, and the huſband himſelf was both judge and avenger. In the preſence of both families, he cut off his guilty wife's hair, ſtripped her, and turning her out of his houſe, drove her through the whole town: [a] no remiſſion, no indulgence on this ſcore: neither beauty, nor youth, nor riches, could protect from the ignominy of puniſhment the woman that had forfeited her honour; nor could they procure her another huſband: for, adds Tacitus, with a moſt remarkable gravity, no body in this country thinks vice a ſubject of laughter; nor a reciprocally corrupt commerce, politeneſs and good breeding.

Unity of marriage among ſome people. The law of conjugal fidelity was carried ſo far with ſome people of Germany, as to forbid all ſecond marriages: a [b] woman never received a ſecond time the title of ſpouſe. As they had but one body and one life, ſo they had but one huſband. This was intended as a means to prevent all idle wiſhes and expectations extending beyond the huſband's life, the wife's fate being for ever fixed to him.

Whatever merit may be thought to be in the voluntary practice of this cuſtom, yet it

[a] Publicatæ pudicitiæ nulla venia. Non formâ, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere & corrumpi ſeculum vocatur. *Tac. Germ.* 19.

[b] Tantùm virgines nubunt, & cùm ſpe votoque uxoris ſemel tranſfigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus, unamque vitam: ne ulla cogitatio ultrà, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, ſed tanquam matrimonium ament. *Ibid.*

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must be allowed hard and unjuſt to make it an abſolute neceſſity; the more ſo, as both ſexes were not alike ſubject to it. The Heruli, according to Procopius, were ſtill more rigid on this occaſion, and barbarouſly cruel: the wife was obliged to ſtrangle herſelf on her huſband's grave, on pain of being reputed infamous and diſhonoured as long as ſhe lived. Thus it is that men, and eſpecially the unciviliſed part of them, ſeldom know how to keep a juſt medium, even in good things. *Proc. de B. Goth. l. 11.*

Obligation to bring up all their children.

The Germans, adhering to the laws of nature, thought it a moſt horrid crime either to limit themſelves to a certain number of children, when they could have more, or to deſtroy any of thoſe they had; ſo that, ſays Tacitus, [a] morality had a greater influence over them, than the wiſeſt laws over other people. We may add, that the Greek and Roman laws were in themſelves vicious in that important point, allowing fathers to expoſe and even to kill their own children: alledging this falſe maxim, that he who gives life has a right to take it away. But God only gives life, and he alone can take it, without other reaſon than that it is his will.

No education.

Hardly any but civiliſed nations have troubled themſelves much about the education of their children. The German children uſed to run about naked, more dirty and naſty than our beggars children are. Their bodies gained by this neglect of their minds, and according

[a] Plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges. *Tac. Germ.* 19.

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to Cæſar's [a] remark, as they were not obliged to learn any thing, but were left at full liberty to play and take what exerciſe they pleaſed, that was one of the principal cauſes of the extraordinary ſize, and robuſt vigour, that the ſouthern people admired in them.

Every child was ſuckled by its own mother, and not left to a female ſlave or mercenary nurſe: the maſter of the family's children were brought up with the children of his ſlaves, without any diſtinction. They tended flocks together, [b] and ſlept together on the bare earth; all was in common among them, till time, diſcovering their talents, ſhewed the difference of their origin.

No marriages concluded in a hurry.

Parents were never in a hurry to marry their children; by which means their marriages were more fruitful, and their offspring more vigorous.

Siſters children were as much regarded by, and as dear to the uncle as his own; nay, from a peculiar ſingularity, he gave them a kind of preference: their own children were, however, heirs to their parents; or, for want of children, the next of kin inherited; brothers, uncles by the father's ſide and by the mother's.

No wills.

They never made any will. The more relations and allies a man had, the more he was reſpected in

[a] Maximam partem lacte & pecore vivunt, multumque ſunt in venationibus: quæ res & cibi genere, & quotidianâ exercitatione, & libertate vitæ (quod à pueris nullo officio aut diſciplinâ aſſuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant) & vires alit, & immani corporum magnitudine effieit. *Cæſ. de B. G.* IV. 1.

[b] Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt: donec ætas ſeparet ingenuos, virtus agnoſcat. *Tac. Germ.* 20.

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his old age; to be rich and without children, was not with the Germans, as with the Greeks and Romans, a thing that drew on a numerous tribe of gaping attendants.

Enmities as well as friendſhips were hereditary, but not implacable. I have already obſerved, that a certain number of cattle or horſes would atone even for murder. This policy proceeded from a ſenſible motive. The public good requires that differences and enmities ſhould be eaſy to make up among a free people, where they are moſt dangerous, and liable to be carried to the greateſt heights. Hereditary enmities, but not implacable.

Every nation has had its public ſhews to amuſe the multitude at certain times. The Germans had but one ſort of them, and that quite agreable to their taſte for arms. Young people, naked, leaped through heaps of lances and ſwords, the points of which were turned towards them, ſhewing thus their agility and dexterity, with the addition of grace acquired by exerciſe: the ſatisfaction of the ſpectators was the only ſalary for this hazardous diverſion. Public ſhews.

They were exceſſively fond of dice, ſo much, ſays Tacitus [a] with aſtoniſhment, that they looked upon it as a ſerious affair; would play with all the attention they were capable of; and when perfectly ſober and cool, would carry it to the greateſt height of madneſs, often ſtaking their perſons and liberty when they had nothing more to loſe, and that throw loſt, would quietly ſubmit to ſlavery: and though younger and ſtronger than the winner, would ſuffer Fond of playing at dice.

[a] Aleam, quod mirere, ſobrii inter ſeria exercent. *Tac. Germ.* 24.

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themſelves to be pinioned, led away, and ſold. Such was their obſtinacy in a vicious and blameable thing, which they honoured with the name of fidelity. Slaves of this kind were a ſhame to their maſters, who for that reaſon were glad to get rid of them as ſoon as they could, and ſold them to ſtrangers to be carried into remote countries.

Slaves. Freemen.

Servitude was however much milder with them than among people more civilized: they did not make their ſlaves wait on them at home: their wives and children ſufficed for whatever their plain way of life required. Each ſlave had his little ſettlement, and was like a farmer to his maſter, who required from him only ſuch a quantity of corn, or cattle, or ſtuffs for cloathing. There ſeldom was occaſion to puniſh any of them, becauſe not living in the houſe, nor obliged to work much, they could not often commit faults. If the maſter chanced to kill one of them, it was thro' anger and paſſion, as he would have killed an enemy, with the difference of impunity only. The condition of their freemen was little ſuperior to their ſlaves, except among ſuch people as were governed by a king. In all countries the conſtant and viſible ſickleneſs of the lower claſs of people is a proof and an effect of the liberty of that nation.

No uſury.

It will be readily concluded, that a people ſo indifferent about gold and ſilver, muſt be ſtrangers to uſury: the Germans wanted none of thoſe laws, which ſo ſeverely, and to ſo little purpoſe, forbid it in other countries. Ignorance was a ſtronger bar to injuſtice than any law.

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The laſt act of human life was performed by them with the ſame ſimplicity as all their other tranſactions: no ſort of magnificence in their funerals. The Germans uſed to burn their dead bodies; and the only diſtinction allowed the moſt illuſtrious was, that their funeral piles were compoſed of particular woods: his arms, and ſometimes his war horſe, were burnt with the dead: their monuments were only little hillocks covered with turf; coſtly magnificent tombs were in their opinion fit only to cruſh the body buried under them: their [a] tears were ſoon dried, but their ſorrow was laſting. It was the buſineſs of women, they ſaid, to cry and lament the dead; but of men, to remember them long. Funerals.

Such is the idea that, after Tacitus, we may form of the manners and cuſtoms of the Germans in general. That illuſtrious author furniſhes us farther with ſome curious details relating to many of the people that inhabited that country. I ſhall at preſent mention only thoſe whoſe valour gave the Romans exerciſe, and even occaſioned great loſſes to them, during the period of which I am writing the hiſtory. Remarks on ſome people of Germany.

The Sicambri, chief authors of the war, are not taken notice of by Tacitus. When he wrote thoſe people were no longer beyond the Rhine. Sicambri.

He ſpeaks of the Uſipii and Tencteri their aſſociates, but tells us nothing more of the former but barely their name. As to the Tenc- Uſipii and Tencteri.

[a] Lamenta ac lacrymas citò, dolorem & triſtitiam tardè ponunt. Feminis lugere honeſtum eſt, viris meminiſſe. Tac. *Germ.* 27.

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teri, he praiſes the excellence of their cavalry: they ſhone and diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of the Germans in that branch of the military profeſſion; they had received it from their anceſtors, and were deſirous to tranſmit it to poſterity: to manage a horſe was their infant play, the object of their youthful emulation; nor would they give it over in their old age. Horſes were the chief part of a child's inheritance, and belonged of right, not to the firſt born, but to the braveſt and beſt warrior.

Bructeri. The Bructeri, who inhabited near the Ems, were a powerful and warlike nation: but before the time when Tacitus wrote, that is before Trajan's ſecond Conſulſhip, they had been extirpated by their neighbours conſpiring againſt them. The Chamavi and Angrivarii took their place.

Tac. Germ. 37.

Catti. The Catti, who ſeem to be the ſame name and people with the preſent * Heſſians, are remarkable, among barbarians, for adding diſcipline to valour. They knew how to chuſe good commanders, to obey their officers, keep their ranks, wait for opportunities, and take advantage of them; they could reſtrain an ill-timed impetuoſity, fortify themſelves with good intrenchments, defy the caprices of fortune, and confidently truſt to their own valour. They were ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the head over the arm, and depended on ſucceſs more from their General's conduct than from the ſtrength of his army. Other [a] Germans fought, the Catti made war.

* *Catti Heſſi.*

[a] Alios ad prælium ire videas, Cattos ad bellum. Tac. *Germ.* 30.

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Their valour was very great, and what elſewhere was practiſed only by the braveſt men, was an univerſal cuſtom among the Catti. I mean, that ſo ſoon as they began to grow men, they let their beard and hair grow, vowing never to ſhave till they had killed an enemy. Thus their face was covered with tuffs of hair ſpreading over it; nor would they, but with the price of their blood, and after gaining ſpoils from the enemy by their courage, ſhew their face fully, and ſhave the fore part of their head. Then only they thought they had diſcharged what they owed their parents for giving them life: nor did they till then think themſelves worthy the glory of their family and country. Effeminate men and cowards were obliged to wear a rough head of hair, as a badge of want of courage.

Another cuſtom of the ſame nature was, after their firſt proofs of valour, ſtill to keep themſelves in wind, and to ſpur them on to greater deeds, for the braveſt among them to wear an iron ring, as an emblem of chains and captivity; likewiſe on the ſame condition not to leave it off till by the death of an enemy killed by them in fight, they acquired a right to be delivered from that badge of ignominy. Even old men would contract this engagement, and ſet the braveſt youths an example of courage.

Theſe old warriors carried beyond all meaſure their indifference for the conveniences of life, and averſion to all care: without any fixt habitation, not giving themſelves the trouble to cultivate a ſpot of ground, they went and

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lived with the first family they found. Prodigally dissipating the property of another, neglecting their own, they looked upon it as a thing beneath them ever to conceive a thought that did not relate to war and arms. Decrepid old age, reducing them to an impossibility of continuing that hard way of life, could alone force them to leave it.

Cauci. I know not well how to define the Cauci, who extended from the Ems to the Elb. I find two very different pictures of them, and both drawn by great masters, Pliny and Tacitus.

Plin. xvi. 1. Pliny represents the Cauci as the most wretched people that can possibly be imagined. According to him, they lived in a low marshy country, that the sea threatened to overflow every instant: no land fit to cultivate, no hunting, no domestic animals; they subsisted wholly by fishing: their country quite naked, afforded them not even wood; so that they had nothing to make fire with but a bituminous mud, that they used to squeeze with their hands to dry, and was probably what we call *Turfs*.

Tacitus, without directly contradicting Pliny, gives a pompous character of the Cauci. He calls them the [a] most illustrious people of Ger-

[a] Populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitiâ tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis rapinis aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quòd ut superiores agant non per injurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus: plurimum virorum equorumque: & quiescentibus eadem fama. Tac. *Germ.* 35.

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many, powerful and numerous, maintaining their greatneſs by the love of juſtice; without avarice or ambition, quiet and peaceable among themſelves, and ſeparated from others, they ſought not war, nor committed rapine or diſorder: the more reſpected by their neighbours, as their power did not oppreſs any body, and as their ſuperiority was not felt by any act of injuſtice. Nor was it effeminacy in them: they well knew how to uſe their arms and collect their troops when there was occaſion for it. They were equally ſtrong in horſe and foot; but their moderation was ſuch that they preferred quiet; and the wiſdom of their conduct added to their glory and renown.

Two pictures ſo widely different can hardly be like the ſame original: nor do I ſee any means of reconciling Pliny and Tacitus, unleſs it be by ſuppoſing the former was acquainted only with the maritime Cauci, that is with the leaſt part of the country, which, according to Tacitus, extended a great way up within land.

The Cheruſci are above all famous in hiſtory for their countryman and chief Arminius, that brave defender of the German liberty. Cheruſci.

The Friſons ſtill keep their old name, and nearly the ſame country they poſſeſſed anciently. Friſons.

The Suevi held all the heart of Germany from the Danube to the Baltic: they were a prodigiouſly numerous nation, ſubdivided into ſeveral people, and each people again into ſeveral cantons. I have obſerved elſewhere what Cæſar ſays of the Suevi. Tacitus is much more ample; but not to be tedious, I ſhall mention only two things. Suevi.

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The firſt is, their manner of dreſſing their hair; a trifling circumſtance, were it not the characteriſtic that diſtinguiſhed the Suevi from the other Germans; and among the Suevi themſelves, the freeman from the ſlave. They let their hair grow long, and plaiting it, turned it up behind, rolling it round on the top of the head. The people of any diſtinction among them took ſome pains to have that roll and the plaiting very neat. That [a] was the only part of dreſs they minded; a part, ſays Tacitus, not to be blamed, ſince their deſign in it was not to appear more amiable to the women, but more terrible to the enemy.

The ſecond ſingularity I ſhall mention relating to them is the cult ſome of the people of that nation, among other the Angles, paid to the earth. They thought that goddeſs paid men a viſit now and then to enquire into their affairs. In an iſland in the ocean was a ſacred wood, called the chaſte wood; there was kept a carr covered and ornamented, which the prieſt only had a right to touch: this prieſt made the people believe he knew, by certain ſigns, the time when the goddeſs came to her ſanctuary; and ſeating her in the carr, drawn by heifers, ſhe was carried about the country with a deal of religious ceremony: holidays were kept on thoſe occaſions, and joy and feſtivity reigned in every place the goddeſs honoured with her preſence. No wars, no arms to be ſeen, they

[a] Ea cura formæ, ſed innoxiæ. Neque enim ut ament amenturve: in altitudinem quamdam & terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hoſtium oculis, ornantur. TAC. *Germ.* 38.

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were locked up carefully at thoſe times; and then only it was that fierce people could like peace and tranquility. When the prieſt judged the goddeſs began to grow weary of her mortal company, he carried her back to the wood, which was looked upon as her temple: then the carr, the ſtuffs it was cover'd with, and the goddeſs herſelf, ſaid they, were waſhed in a lake a little diſtant. This part of the ceremony was performed by ſlaves, who inſtantly diſappeared, ſwallowed up by the lake: A cruel artifice to conceal the prieſt's juggling, and to ſtrike the people with a * ſuperſtitious dread of the tremendous object of their worſhip, a ſight of which was not to be obtained but by certain death.

German nations ſettled on this ſide the Rhine.

I ſhall not enter into a farther detail of the people of Germany, but only add the names of the moſt celebrated German nations ſettled on this ſide the Rhine, which were the Nervi,* the people of Triers, the Tribocci, † the Vangions, the Nemetians, the Uvians, and the Batavians: and it is remarkable, that all theſe people thought it a great honour to be of German origin, and were particularly careful to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Gauls, in whom the mildneſs of the climate, Cæſars conqueſts, and Roman cuſtoms introduced by the victors, had taken off the edge of that courage for which they eſteemed the Germans ſo much.

* *The people of Hainault.*

* Arcanus hinc terror, ſanctaque ignorantia, quid ſit illud quod tantùm perituri vident. TAC. *Germ.* 40.

† Straſburg *is the capital of the Tribocci*; Worms *of the Vangions*; Spire *of the Nemetians*; Cologne *of the Ubians. The Batavians inhabited an iſland down the Rhine, of which* Betaw *or* Betuvia *is a conſiderable part.*

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Continual wars of the Germans with the Romans for five hundred years.

The wars between the Romans and Germans began long before Druſus. Tacitus juſtly thinks they commenced with the Cimbrian invaſion; and obſerves, that of all the enemies Rome had to deal with, none ever hurt her ſo much as the Germans, nor defended their liberty with more obſtinacy. In fact, from the irruption of the Cimbrians to the time when Tacitus wrote, which was two hundred years, Germany had not yet been entirely ſubdued.

Nor was it ever: on the contrary it became triumphant. From that country came, what Tacitus could neither foreſee nor dread, the deſtroyers of the Roman empire, the Franks, Goths and Vandals: So that the war I am about to deſcribe, already important in itſelf, becomes much more ſo when conſidered as part of a war that laſted five hundred years, and did not end but with the total ſubverſion of the Roman power; eſtabliſhing on its ruins monarchies now ſubſiſting in the fineſt parts of Europe. I am indebted for this thought to Bucherius, * whoſe erudition has eſcaped nothing relative to the wars of Germany.

* *Bucher. Belgium Romanum, Eccleſ. & Civ.*

Their motions after the invaſion of the Cimbrians.

After the example the Cimbrians had ſet, the Germans never gave up their deſign of paſſing the Rhine, and ſettling in richer and better countries than thoſe they were in poſſeſſion of. With this view Arioviſtus firſt went into Gaul, and after him the Uſipii and Tencteri. The bad ſucceſs they met with, and Cæſar's attack on Germany, might well check for a time, but never could extinguiſh, the uneaſineſs and avidity of their countrymen. Agrippa was to ſtop their incurſions, and in imitation of what Cæſar had

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had done, to keep them more effectually within bounds, by ſpreading terror in their own country, he paſſed the Rhine about the time of his firſt Conſulſhip. After that, whilſt Octavius was at war with Antony, Carinnas conquered the Suevi, and merited triumphant honours for it. Some years after the battle of Actium, Vicinius avenged on ſome people of Germany, whoſe names we are not made acquainted with, the blood of ſome Roman traders they had maſſacred. In the year of Rome 733 Agrippa went again to Gaul, again moleſted by German incurſions. He calmed all things, and then perhaps it was he permitted the Ubii to ſettle on the left ſide of the Rhine. Thoſe, people, formerly protected by Cæſar againſt the Suevi, had from that time began to like the Romans; and Agrippa depended ſo much on their fidelity, that he removed them into the Empire, aſſigning them the guard of the Rhine, with orders to prevent the Germans paſſing it. The place where they ſettled encreaſed afterwards, and became a Roman colony, for many ages paſt known by the name of Cologn. Tiberius, who ſeems to have ſucceeded Agrippa, did nothing memorable; but the war began to grow ſerious under Lollius, in the year of Rome 736.

Tac. Ann. XII. 27. & *Germ.* 28.

Suet. Tib. c. 9.

Lollius, praiſed by Horace, but with ſo little of that delicacy ſo remarkable in that great poet, that it ſeems rather a panegyric written by command, than what the writer really thought his due, was a [b] man who concealed

Lollius defeated by the Sicambri.

Hor. Od. IV. 9.

[b] M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniæ, quàm rectè faciendi cupidiore, & inter ſummam vitiorum diſſimulationem vitioſiſſimo, *Vell.* II. 97.

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the greateſt vices under the moſt ſpecious appearances, and was fonder of getting money than of doing his duty well. It is very probable that covetous General might attempt to practiſe unjuſt extortions on the German people Agrippa had juſt conquered, and on whom he doubtleſs impoſed ſome ſlight tribute. Lollius ſent Centurions beyond the Rhine, who committing violences, under pretence of levying the tribute, irritated the inhabitants, enemies to ſervitude; they ſeized and put them to death. Not ſatisfied with this revenge, the Sicambri, aided by their faithful allies the Uſipii and Tencteri, paſſed the Rhine, ravaged places belonging to the Empire, and ſurpriſed Lollius, as negligent in the performance of his duty, as he was active and vigilant in what concerned his intereſt. The Romans were put to flight, with more ignominy indeed than loſs. The Eagle of the fifth Legion remained with the conquerors.

Dio. l. LIV.

Auguſtus goes into Gaul, and on his return from thence leaves Druſus there.

This diſaſter determined Auguſtus, as I before ſaid in the firſt book, to go himſelf to Gaul. His preſence, and the preparations Lollius made to retrieve his honour, ſoon reſtored tranquility. The Barbarians made peace, and repaſſed the Rhine, firſt giving hoſtages: a weak tie on people unuſed to pay any regard to the faith of treaties. When opportunity offered, neither their former engagements, nor even any conſideration for their hoſtages, could reſtrain them: the only ſafe precaution againſt them, was always to miſtruſt them; and the only means the Romans had to guard againſt them, was to put it out of their power to do hurt.

Strab. l. VII.

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hurt. Auguſtus ſtaid near three years in Gaul to ſecure the peace of that country, and when he left it, always apprehending the reſtleſs character of the Germans, Druſus remained behind him, who, young as he was, had given proofs of his ſuperior talents for arms, in the war with the Rheti.

Druſus eſtabliſhes peace in Gaul. *Dio.*

The Emperor's departue was a ſignal to the Sicambri to renew their incurſions: even Gaul was not quiet. The quit-rent and poll-tax, which Druſus was collecting by Auguſtus's order, made them ſenſible of their ſervitude; and not being as yet thoroughly formed to the yoke, they found, in the aſſiſtance of the Germans, a ſtrong inducement to attempt to recover their liberty. The ferment ſeems to have been general in all Gaul, but the revolt broke out only in the two provinces bordering on the Rhine, called by Auguſtus the two Germanies.

Druſus's arms ſubdued the rebel towns; and this firſt ſucceſs adding great weight to his authority, and ſtopping the progreſs of the revolt through the reſt of Gaul, he took the opportunity of a feſtival to convene a general aſſembly of the nation, and endeavour to reconcile them entirely to the Roman domination.

Temple and altar of Lions.

The occaſion of this feſtival was the dedication of a temple and altar which all Gaul had, before theſe laſt troubles, been prevailed on to erect to Auguſtus, and which were then finiſhed. Few monuments are more celebrated than this; it was built where the Saône and Rhône join, on the ſpot where the abbey of Ainai now is. Sixty provinces of Gaul were at the expence of it, and had ſet up ſixty ſtatues repreſenting *Strabo, l. iv.*

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them. It was a ſolemn homage paid by all Gaul to the Roman Empire: its very ſituation ſpoke it ſuch: for Lions, a Roman colony, where the Romans ſtruck gold and ſilver money with their own coin, and which was their general magazine in Gaul for proviſions of all ſorts, was, next to Narbonne, their ſecond citadel in thoſe fine provinces. The aſſembly Druſus had convened anſwered his wiſhes. A prieſt called, in Livy's Epitome, C. Julius Vercundaridubius, an Eduan, was appointed in honour of the new God. Games were to be celebrated every year round about the temple. With theſe affairs of leſs importance in appearance, Druſus knew how to mix others of a more ſerious nature; and, either by his dexterity in practiſing on their minds, or by keeping the chiefs of the nations near him by way of hoſtages, he managed ſo well, that not only the Gauls did not revolt, but even cordially ſupplied him with neceſſaries towards the German war.

Liv. Epit. CXXXVII.

Druſus marches againſt the Germans. Dio.

For Druſus wiſely firſt pacifying the province at home, next thought of turning his arms againſt the enemy abroad, and not ſatisfied with driving back the Germans, who were preparing to paſs the Rhine, he croſſed it himſelf, and attacked the Uſipii and Sicambri in their own country, thus returning them the outrages they had ſo often committed on the Roman territories. He conquered the Marcomans too, who then lived on the borders of the Main, in the country now called the Circle of Franconia.

He

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He did more: he resolved to enter Germany by sea, at once to carry the war to the borders of the Ems and Veser, without harrassing his troops by a long and difficult march. It seems as if he had long conceived that great design; and, to facilitate the execution of it, made the canal that now communicates from the Rhine with the Issel, extending from the village of Isseloort to Doesbourg. This canal received a great part of the waters of the right branch of the Rhine, which by that means became much less considerable. But at the same time Drusus opened a third mouth for that river into the sea, mentioned by Pliny under the name of *Flevum Ostium*. The face of that country has been prodigiously altered since that time. The space that is now called the *Zuiderzee* was then chiefly land, watered by the Rhine joined to the Issel, falling into a lake called *Flevus*, from whence disemboguing, and becoming a river again, it at last opened into the sea, probably at the place now called the *Ulie*, between the isles of *Ulieland* and *Schelling*. The passage is but short from thence to the mouth of the Ems.

Canal made by him to join the Rhine and Issel.

See Cal. Geograph. Ant. l. II. *c.* 3. *and La Martiniere's Dictionary, articles* Flevo, Flevum, Flevus.

Drusus having prepared a fleet on the Rhine, fell down the river, then passed thro' his own canal, whence coming into the Issel, and following the route I have described, he was the first Roman that entered the German Ocean. His first care was to subdue or gain over the Frisons. He took possession of the isle of *Byrchanis*, now *Borckum*, near the mouth of the Ems; then ascending that river, he conquered the Bructeri in a naval fight. He visited next

He enters Germany by sea, and gains great advantages. *Suet. Claud.* 1. *Dio.*

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the Cauci, on the right hand of the Ems, but there he was in great danger: being unacquainted with the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, his ſhips that had come up with the help of the high tide, were left dry when the tide went off. His new allies, the Friſons, helped him out of that difficulty.

Before he left the country he built a fort at the mouth of the Ems, on the left ſide, oppoſite the place where the town of Embden has been ſince built: and having brought back his fleet and army ſafely from thence, diſtributed his ſoldiers in winter quarters, and went to Rome to receive the honour of Prætor, with the applauſes juſtly due to his exploits. This firſt campaign of Druſus in Germany was when Meſſala and Quirinius were Conſuls.

A.R. 741. Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
bef. C. 11. PAULUS FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Druſus's ſecond campaign in Germany.

EARLY next ſpring Druſus repaired to his army, to proſecute the war againſt the Germans, who had been beaten, but not ſubdued. He paſſed the Rhine, and again engaged the ſame people, the Sicambri, Uſipii, and Tencteri, whoſe zeal in defence of the common liberty was ſo great, that the Catti, refuſing to join them, they reſolved to force them to it, and accordingly entered their country. Whilſt this was doing, the Sicambri had left their own country open and without defence: Druſus took advantage of the enemy's neglect, and throwing a bridge over the Lippe, carried war into the heart of the abſent Sicambri's territories, and

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and from thence advanced towards the Cherusci, and as far as the Veser. Fear of wanting provisions, and winter drawing near, prevented his passing that river. A.R. 741. bef. C. 11.

He met with great difficulties in his march back: the people combining together harrassed him in his retreat, and after tiring him with several ambuscades, they at last pent him up in a deep narrow valley, where his own loss and that of his army seemed inevitable: the Barbarians thought so, and that was what saved the Romans. The Sicambri and their allies, presumptuously thinking themselves sure of victory, attacked without any order the Romans, whom they considered as an easy prey, but were repulsed with loss, and never after ventured too near the Romans, but followed them at a distance. To keep them within bounds, and preserve the advantages he had gained, Drusus built two forts in which he left garrison; one where the Lippe and *Aliso join, the other close to the Rhine in the country of the Catti. For these new successes the Senate decreed Drusus the ornaments of Triumph, the honour of Ovation, and the power of Proconsul, when his year of Prætorship should expire.

The soldiers had given him the title of *Imperator*, or Victorious General. But Augustus was more tenacious of that honour than of any other, Triumph excepted †. Perhaps he was apprehensive

* *Alm, a little river that falls into the Lippe, not far from Paderborn.*

† *Augustus's conduct varied with regard to Triumphs: at first he granted it freely; but after*

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A.R.741. bef.C.11. apprehenſive that title might make the commanders of his armies apt to forget they were only his Lieutenants, and not Generals in chief. Whatever ground there may be for this conjecture, which ſeems founded on facts, it is at leaſt certain that when Auguſtus took himſelf the title of *Imperator*, for Tiberius's conqueſts over the Pannonians, and Druſus's in Germany, he would not permit either of them to aſſume it.

A.R.742. bef.C.10. JULUS ANTONIUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Third. OUR memorials are, as the Reader may perceive, very ſhort and barren on a ſubject where one would wiſh them ample: for the war in Germany under the Conſuls Julus Antonius and Q. Fabius, muſt have been conſiderable and dangerous, ſince Auguſtus thought it expedient for him to reſide again in Lionneſe Gaul, that he might be more at hand to direct the operations of the campaign, and to ſend Druſus what ſuccours might be neceſſary. Yet the only particularity we know of it is, that the Catti, who till then had appeared well affected to the Romans, who had given them part of the Sicambri's territories, united this year with their countrymen: Druſus however maintained the ſuperiority of the Roman arms over the German confederacy thus ſtrengthened, and defeated the old rebels

after Agrippa's refuſal of it in the year of Rome 738, it was an honour reſerved only to the Emperors and Princes of the Imperial family.

and

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and their new allies in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. A.R.742. bef. C. 10. Livy's Epitomiſer mentions two officers of the Nervi, Senectius and Anectius, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves under his command in this expedition; which ſhews that the Romans employed Gauliſh troops againſt the Germans, as well as their own national forces.

The year following Druſus was Conſul: but death put a ſtop to his growing honours and victories.

NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS. A.R.743.
T. QUINTIUS CRISPINUS. bef. C. 9.

THE Germans were not tired of the war, though always worſted; whilſt their conqueror, animated with ſucceſs, proſecuted his victories. This year, the laſt of his life, croſſing the Catti's territories, he penetrated as far as the Suevi, who had formed a powerful army of their own troops, joined to the Cheruſci and Sicambri. Thoſe three people united thought themſelves ſo ſure of victory, that they had before-hand ſettled how the ſpoils of the conquered Romans were to be divided. The Cheruſci were to have the horſes, the Suevi the gold and ſilver, and the Sicambri the priſoners. But their idle expectations ſoon vaniſhed: they were beaten, and themſelves, with their horſes, cattle, and gorgets, which they eſteemed their moſt precious ornament, became a prey to Druſus and the Romans. Their wives had followed them to the war, as was their cuſtom: and Oroſius gives an inſtance of their ferocity that ſtrikes one with horror. He ſays, that for Fourth. *Dio. l.* LV. *Flor.* IV. 12. *Oroſ.* VI. 21.

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A.R. 743. bef. C. 9. want of javelins, or other weapons of that kind, they would tear their ſucking children from the breaſt, and throw them at the enemy.

Druſus remaining maſter of the whole country, paſſed the Veſer and came near the Elbe. A pretended prodigy, if we believe Dion Caſſius and Suetonius, prevented his paſſing that river. Thoſe authors ſay, a phantom appeared to him in the likeneſs of a Barbarian woman, and with a menacing voice ſaid, "Raſh man! "whither does thy inconſiderate ardour hurry "thee? The Fates forbid thy paſſing this river. "Thy exploits and thy life muſt end here."

Dio, & Suet. Claud. 1.

If there be any foundation for this ſtory, and it be not a downright fable, proceeding from a love of the marvellous, eſpecially in a circumſtance ſo ſingular as that of a Roman army ready to croſs the Elbe, it may be ſuſpected that one of thoſe German women pretending to be Propheteſſes acted this farce. But as it ſeems hardly probable that Druſus, who lived in a very enlightened age, and who was endowed with a great and noble ſoul, ſhould be frighted by ſuch a ſcarecrow; and as it is certain he did return without paſſing the Elbe, I think it moſt reaſonable to aſcribe his retreat to the illneſs or accident that cauſed his death.

His death.

I ſay illneſs or accident, becauſe his death is differently accounted for. Dion Caſſius aſcribes it to illneſs only. The epitome of Livy ſays he was killed by a fall from his horſe. Suetonius informs us, that Auguſtus was by ſome ſuſpected of having poiſoned him; and the reaſons alledged were theſe: Druſus was generous, popular, an enemy to tyranny, and never con-

Suet. Claud. 1. *& Tib.* 50.

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concealed his design to re-establish the Republican government in Rome, if it should ever be in his power. It is added, that he wrote to his brother Tiberius, with a view to engage him to join with him in measures to force Augustus to resign the supreme power, and that Tiberius was mean and treacherous enough to shew that letter to Augustus, who immediately recalled Drusus, and on his refusal to obey, caused him to be poisoned. Suetonius, who records this report, takes care likewise to refute it, and to that end alledges the singular fondness Augustus always shewed for this his amiable son-in-law, so far as to put him in his will equal with his own children, and to declare in the funeral oration he made for him, that all he wished for his two sons, Caius and Lucius Cæsars, was, that they might one day be like Drusus; and that he begg'd the gods might grant him a death as glorious as that of this young hero, buried in his triumphs. Besides, we have already observed in relation to suspicions of that kind when Marcellus died, that Tacitus, who spares no body, says positively [a] Augustus never was cruel towards any part of his family, nor ever caused the death of any that belonged to him. Drusus's being poisoned is therefore a mere invention: if we are to determine what was the cause of his death, the authority of Livy's epitome seems preferable to Dion Cassius. A.R. 743. bef. C. 9.

So soon as Augustus heard at Pavia, where he then was, the news of Drusus's accident, he immediately dispatched Tiberius, who was re- *Val. Max.* v. 5.

[a] In nullius unquam suorum necem duravit (Augustus). *Tac. Ann.* I. 6.

turned

A.R. 743. Dæf. C. 9. turned from conquering the Pannonians, Dalmatians and Dalmatians. It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of Tiberius, that his brotherly love had been as ſtrong, as his diligence on this occaſion was great and almoſt incredible. In a day and a night he travelled two hundred miles, or ſixty leagues of that country, with only one perſon to attend him; and that tho' he had the Alps and Rhine to croſs, and all the road lay thro' barbarous countries, moſt of them either enemies or unwilling allies. He found Druſus ſtill alive: and tho' near his end, he collected ſtrength enough to pay his brother the compliment of ordering his army out to receive him, and to pay him all the honours due to a ſuperior in age and command. He expired ſoon after, regretted by the ſoldiers, and lamented by every Roman. The camp where he died, between the Rhine and the * Saka, was called the *wicked camp*.

* *A river that falls into the Elbe.*

His funeral. *Frienſham*, CLIV. 6, 7.

His army, infinitely attached to him, wanted to keep his body, and bury him in a military manner on the very ſpot. It was not without difficulty that Tiberius, ſhewing the Emperor's orders, ſtopped their impetuous zeal. Preparations were therefore made to conduct the body to Rome: firſt it was carried by Centurions, on their ſhoulders, to the quarters of the Legions next the Rhine, Tiberius on foot preceding the funeral pomp: from thence advancing towards Italy, the Senators and Magiſtrates of the towns they paſſed by, received him at the entrance of their territories, and conducted him to the next frontier. Auguſtus himſelf, in the

Tac. Ann. III. 5.

depth

depth of winter, went as far as Pavia to meet the corpse, and accompanied it to Rome. A. R. 745. bef. C. 9.

Nothing that magnificence or real grief could suggest was omitted to honour the heroe. Two funeral Orations were made, one by Tiberius in the public place, the other by Augustus in the Circus Flaminius without the city. The body was carried to the Campus Martius by Roman Knights of the greatest distinction and sons of Senators; and after being burnt there, the ashes were gathered up and placed in the Julian tomb. Augustus, not content to have pronounced his funeral encomium, wrote likewise his epitaph in verse, and the history of his life in prose. What pity a work so precious on every account should be lost!

The Senate honoured the memory of Drusus with the most glorious decrees. The surname of Germanicus was given him, his children, and descendants. Statues were ordered to be erected to him in divers places; a triumphal arch of marble, with trophies, on the Via Appia, and a monument near the Rhine, made famous by his exploits. It was for a long time customary for the Roman Legions to perform their exercise round this tomb: and even divine honours seem, according to the impious custom of those ages of flattery and error, to have been paid Drusus; for history mentions an altar erected to him in the country where he had signalized his valour. Honours done his memory. Tac. Ann. II. 7.

Drusus [b] deserved to be regretted by Augustus His character.

[b] Druso Claudio, adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quantas natura mortalis, recipit, vel industria per-

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A.R. 743. ſtus and the Roman people, for he poſſeſſed all
bef. C. 9. the good and great qualities fit to acquire eſteem and affection. He perfected by ſtudy the happy diſpoſition he was born with: equally fit to ſhine in peace or in war. A hero without oſtentation, affable with dignity, in the common occurrences of life as amiable to all who approached him, as he was terrible in arms to nations invincible before him. His exploits prove his capacity for command. His perſonal bravery went beyond what a General ought to ſhew, for he would often in battle ſeek out the German princes, and fight them hand to hand, to gain the ſignal honour of the *Spoliæ opimæ*.

The great works he did are proofs of the wiſdom and extent of his views. He built two bridges over the Rhine, one at Bonn, the other according to ſome at Mentz, with a fleet that made the Romans maſters of that great river: he dug ſeveral canals, the moſt famous of which is that I have already given a ſhort deſcription
Flor. IV. 12. of. Beſides the forts already mentioned on the Ems and Lippe, he built above fifty along the borders of the Rhine, which probably were the beginnings of ſeveral of the towns in thoſe parts.

All theſe things duly conſidered, Druſus muſt readily be allowed to have been the greateſt Roman general of his time: and no one after him attained equal glory, nor deſerves to be compared with him, his ſon Germanicus excepted. What adds to the admiration juſtly due to him,

perficit. Cujus ingenium utrùm bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus ſuffecerit artibus, in incerto eſt. Morum certè dulcedo ac ſuavitas, & adverſus amicos æqua ac par ſui æſtimatio, inimitabilis fuiſſe dicitur. *Vell.* II. 97.

is,

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is, that so many virtues, such great actions, were not the fruit of ripe years or long experience. He was but thirty years old when he died. A.R. 743. bef. C. 9.

His marriage and children. *Vell.* II. 97. *Suet. Claud.* I.

Drusus was handsome in his person: the graces of the body were joined in him to the beauties of the mind. He married the younger Antonia, second daughter of Antony and Octavia, and had by her three children, Germanicus, whom I have just mentioned, Claudius, afterwards Emperor, and Livia or Livilla, married to her cousin german, Drusus son of Tiberius.

Tiberius's ovation.

I have mentioned the victories Tiberius gained over the Pannonians, Dacians, and Dalmatians, whilst his brother Drusus was at war with the Germans; and have said how by his first exploits he merited the ornaments of triumph: to those he added others, for which the honours of ovation were decreed him.

But more pressing cares, the death of Drusus, which was looked upon as a public calamity, and the long and mournful preparations for his funeral, had delayed a ceremony where joy only was to reign. When those duties, which were of right to take place of all other things, were over, Tiberius's ovation came next in turn. It was the more pompous and magnificent, as the same honour having likewise been decreed his brother, what had been prepared for both triumphs were put into one. Tiberius on this occasion gave an entertainment to the whole people, and to that end had tables spread in the capitol, and several other parts of the city: and at the same time his mother Livia, and Julia his wife, treated the Ladies.

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A.R. 743. bef. C. 9. He is sent into Germany.

The death of Druſus, interrupting his victories, had left the affairs of Germany in an unſettled and uncertain ſtate. Tiberius was choſen to complete the work his brother had ſo gloriouſly began: Auguſtus had no one elſe in his family to whom he could truſt a buſineſs of ſo great moment: he therefore ſent him into Germany under the Conſulſhip of Aſinius Gallus and Cenſorinus.

A.R. 744. bef. C. 8.

C. Asinius Gallus.
C. Marcius Censorinus.

He settles peace there.

TIBERIUS's inſtructions ſeem to have been rather to pacify matters than widen the breach; to eſtabliſh peace and tranquility, rather than to make conqueſts; a due regard ſtill being had to the rights and majeſty of the empire. L. Domitius, who, there is reaſon to think, commanded the army from Druſus's death till Tiberius came, had prided himſelf on paſſing the Elbe, and carrying the Roman arms into regions where they had not hitherto penetrated. He put this project in execution, and gained ſome advantages for which the ornaments of triumph were decreed him. But Auguſtus, whilſt he rewarded his exploits, did not approve of his conduct. As a wiſe Prince he was more ſtudious how to govern well his vaſt dominions, than to encreaſe them beyond meaſure: he would readily have conſented to let the Rhine be his boundary. As to the Elbe, he thought it no ways for the advantage of the Romans to go beyond it; being perſuaded, that if the warlike nations that lived on the other

Tac. Ann. IV. 44.

Strabo, l. VII.

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other ſide that river were once irritated and rouſed, they could never enjoy in peace what they were in poſſeſſion of on this ſide. A.R. 744. bef. C. 8.

Tiberius was quite fit to enter into theſe views of Auguſtus. He was brave, but above all piqued himſelf on being prudent. Hiſtory does not inform us whether he gave any battles, or whether after the loſſes the Germans had already ſuſtained, the terror of his name and arms were alone ſufficient to reduce them. What ſeems certain is, that he forced part of the Suevi and Sicambri to ſubmit, and tranſported forty thouſand of them on this ſide the Rhine. Such was the fierceneſs of thoſe Barbarians, that many, eſpecially their chiefs, not able to endure being ſo far diſtant from their own country, nor the kind of captivity they were kept in, choſe rather to kill themſelves. The Sicambri, who hitherto had made ſo much noiſe, ſeemed quite extinct after this tranſmigration, nor does their name appear again for a long time in the wars the Romans had in Germany. *Tac. Ann.* II. 26. *Suet. Aug.* 21. & *Tib.* 9. *Dio.*

This was already a great ſtep towards ſecuring the tranquility of Druſus's conqueſts; but beſides that another ſwarm of Suevi, the moſt noted of which were the Marcomans, terrified by this diſgrace of their countrymen, and fearing a like diſaſter for themſelves, left the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and borders of the Mein, under the conduct of Marobduus, and took themſelves into Bohemia. By this means all became calm between the Rhine and Elbe; all acknowledged the Roman laws. Tiberius, who had compleated this great work, received *Vell.* II. 108. *Dio.*

at

A.R. 744, bef. C. 8. at laſt with Auguſtus's leave the title of *Imperator* or Victorious General, the honours of triumph, and a ſecond Conſulſhip.

Honours decreed Auguſtus on account of the conqueſts in Germany.

As he had acted only in quality of Emperor's Lieutenant, the triumph was due to Auguſtus by the laws of Rome: accordingly it was decreed him, but he would not accept it; content to have, with the title of *Imperator*, which he took on this occaſion for the fourteenth time, a right to appropriate to himſelf the glory Tiberius had acquired under his auſpices. Inſtead of the honour he refuſed, horſe races were eſtabliſhed to perpetuity in the Circus on his birth-day; or rather, what had been introduced ſome years before by the voluntary zeal of the citizens and magiſtrates, was now authoriſed and confirmed by a decree.

Auguſtus had made it a rule not to triumph for victories he had not gained himſelf in perſon, in order doubtleſs to avoid the ridicule of a tranſcendant honour merited by another man's labours and danger. So Ovation had been granted Druſus, as I have ſaid, for his exploits againſt the Germans; but Auguſtus thought a ſimple modeſt entry, the moſt brilliant ornament of which was a laurel crown, which he depoſited in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, ſufficient for himſelf. His conduct was ever the ſame in like circumſtances, and his example was followed by his ſucceſſors. Every conſiderable advantage gained by their Lieutenants over the enemy, gave them a right to deck themſelves with the title of *Imperator*, but not to have a triumph decreed them.

Auguſtus's

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Auguſtus's victories over the Germans procured him likewiſe the honour of enlarging the city: that was a privilege peculiar to ſuch as had extended the frontiers of the Empire. A. R. 744. bef. C. 8.

Germany was pacified, and there remained neither war nor diſturbance throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire. The Dacians, Pannonians and Dalmatians, as I have already ſaid, had been ſubdued by Tiberius. L. Piſo had reduced the Thracians after a three years war, by which he merited the ornaments of triumph. The Parthians reſpected the Roman grandeur, and thought themſelves happy not to be attacked. Thus Auguſtus reaping from this univerſal peace, the ſweeteſt fruits of his labours, and of the wiſdom of his government, cloſed a third time the temple of Janus, which remained ſhut about twelve years. It pleaſed God that even a temporal peace ſhould anounce the ſpeedy birth * of him who was to bring from heaven true peace upon earth. General peace. Temple of Janus ſhut. *Oroſ.* vi. 22.

* *There remains but four years to the true date of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, tho' the common æra is eight years later.*

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SECT. II.

OTHER events of the same years. The office of Tribune disdained. Augustus's orders to prevent its remaining vacant. Regulations concerning the discipline of the Senate. New prerogative granted the Prætors. Method practised to prevent bribery. Augustus finds means to elude a law he dared not abolish. He proceeds with great moderation in all these new regulations. Other examples of his moderation and mildness. His orders relating to aqueducts and conduits. To prevent fires. Watch. His care to ease the subjects of the Empire. His goodness towards private persons. His clemency in the trial of a son that had attempted to kill his father. Marks of public affection towards Augustus. The title of Father of his Country is given him. He is a fourth time continued in the Imperial power. Dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus. The priesthood of Jupiter re-established. Octavia dies after twelve years inconsoleable mourning for the death of her son Marcellus. Livia bears with courage the loss of her son Drusus. Mecænas's death. His credit was grown less. His foible for his wife Terentia. His effeminacy. His stile affected. Verses, in which he expresses an extreme fondness of life. His good qualities. Hot baths not known before him. Some think him author of the art of short-hand writing. His will, in which he recommends Horace to Augustus. Augustus's kind familiarity

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familiarity with that poet. Horace's death. Order of the Calendar reſtored. Tiberius triumphs. Beginning of the elevation of Caius and Lucius Cæſars, adoptive ſons to Auguſtus. Tiberius is made Tribune and retires to Rhodes. Caius Cæſar takes the virile robe; is appointed Conſul, and receives the title of Prince of the Youth. Birth of J. C. Herod's death. Lucius Cæſar takes the virile robe, and receives the ſame honours as his brother. Games and ſhews. Creation of two commanders of the Prætorian guards. Auguſtus is made acquainted with his daughter Julia's looſe conduct. He confines her to the iſland of Pandataria, and puniſhes her corrupters by death or baniſhment. Commotions in Armenia. Caius Cæſar is ſent into the Eaſt to pacify them. The Parthians, who protected Armenia, make their peace. Interview of the King of Parthia and Caius. Diſgrace and death of Lollius. Alfænus's extraordinary fortune. Caius enters Armenia. Is wounded. Dies. Death of his brother Lucius. Tiberius's abode in Rhodes. He behaves there in a low and abject manner. With great difficulty obtains leave to return to Rome. His confidence in Thraſyllus the aſtrologer. At Rome he lives like a private man. He is adopted by Auguſtus, who thinks he makes a good choice. Auguſtus adopts at the ſame time Agrippa Poſthumus, and makes Tiberius adopt Germanicus. Abdication and exile of Agrippa Poſthumus. Looſe conduct of Julia, Auguſtus's grand-daughter, and her baniſhment. Tiberius again receives the power of Tribune. New review of the Senate. The inhabitants of Italy numbered. Auguſtus par-

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dons Cinna. Famine in Rome. Daughters of Freemen declared capable of being choſen Veſtals. Divers commotions. Rewards for ſoldiers and officers increaſed; and likewiſe their time of ſervice. Number of troops maintained by Auguſtus. Military treaſury eſtabliſhed. Anger of the mob appeaſed by the return of plenty; and by the honours paid to the memory of Druſus. Death of Pollio. Particularities relating to him. Aſinius Gallus his ſon. The pains he took to form his grandſon Marcellus Æſerminus for eloquence. Death of Meſſala. His two ſons. Archelaus, ſon of Herod, is depoſed, and Judæa becomes a Roman province.

Other events of the ſame years.

IN the years I have ran over, Hiſtory affords us no events more memorable than thoſe of the German war; and if the account of them has been ſo dry and ſuccinct, it is not that they are not great and important in themſelves, but becauſe writers have been wanting to record them. I muſt now reſume tranſactions of another nature, which I have been obliged to poſtpone. I ſhall begin with orders and regulations made by Auguſtus relating to the home government of the Republic; nor ſhall I fear being thought too prolix, for every thing becomes intereſting in a change of government.

The method I follow is, I grant, of leſs help to the memory to fix the date of each event: but beſides being authoriſed by the example of Mr. Rollin, my maſter, and by many other illuſtrious hiſtorians, I apprehend it is on the whole not the leaſt uſeful, nor the leaſt agree-

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able to the generality of Readers. The parts which, ſcattered up and down, would not ſtrike, when collected, form a whole that may attract attention: and the character of the Prince, and his views, are beſt ſeen by taking his conſtitutions and laws collectively together.

The office of Tribune diſdained.

I have already obſerved that ſome offices remained ſometimes vacant, and were in danger of being extinct for want of candidates to fill them up. The Tribuneſhip was in that caſe. It often happened that Senators, who only could aſpire to that office in virtue of a law made by Sylla, diſdained that magiſtracy once ſo dreaded, but no more than an empty ſhadow ſince the Emperor had been veſted in the powers belonging to it. Auguſtus, deſirous to keep up all the outſide ſhew of ancient forms, thought proper to remedy this inconvenience; and when there were not Senators enough to compoſe the number of candidates for Tribunes, he ordered that the people ſhould chuſe for the vacancies, Roman Knights, among ſuch as were worth a million of ſeſterces: with leave to ſuch as ſhould be ſo choſen, to remain in the order of Senators after the expiration of their year of Tribune, or to return to the Knights if they preferred it.

Auguſtus's orders to prevent its remaining vacant. *Dio. l.* LIV. *& Suet. Aug.* 40.

A.R. 740.

Regulations concerning the diſcipline of the Senate.

He at all times paid the greateſt attention to whatever concerned the diſcipline of the Senate; and, either by making new regulations, or reviving old ones, ſtudied to maintain a juſt dignity and decency in that firſt body of the Republic. He began, as we have ſeen, by reforming the moſt important articles, and conſtantly continued to add whatever he thought moſt proper to compleat that work.

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Suet. Aug. 35. Thus he inſtituted, at all meetings of the Senate, a ceremony purely religious, which was, that every Senator on coming in, before he took his ſeat, ſhould offer up incenſe and wine to the God in whoſe temple the aſſembly was held.

He required the Senators to be attentive to what was deliberating: and to that end, when any important affair was in agitation, he aſked their opinions, not in the uſual order, but ſingling them out as it were by chance, ſo that every one was obliged to attend to what was propoſed, not knowing but he might be the firſt called upon to ſpeak to it, and not come off by barely ſaying yea or nay after another.

Dio. l. LV. Nor did he leſs require aſſiduity and conſtant attendance: it always had been an eſſential part of the duty of a Senator, and ſuch as abſented themſelves without ſufficient cauſe were liable to a fine. Auguſtus made that fine greater; and as the great number of abſentees often procured impunity, he ordered in that caſe they ſhould draw lots, and one out of five paid the penalty ordered by law. Nor could any member be abſent without being miſſed; for a liſt of the names of all the members was hung up at the door of the Senate-houſe.

Dio. l. LIV. *&* LV. The number of Senators required to make a *Senatus Conſultum*, that is, to form a decree or reſolution of the Senate, was fixed at four hundred at leaſt, and that number encreaſed according to the nature of the buſineſs to be done. The account was taken by Auguſtus, agreeable to the ancient cuſtom. If the meeting did not conſiſt of the number preſcribed, the opinion of

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of the plurality was regiſtred, but ſtill was of no force, as a law, till ratified by a ſubſequent meeting ſufficiently numerous.

All this order was very fine, but it was a kind of reſtraint upon the Senators. Auguſtus conſidering the nicety of the times, and perhaps too the intereſt of his own authority, appointed the meetings of the Senate not ſo often: he fixed them at two a month regularly, the day of the Calends and that of the Ides; except the Ides of March, the day Cæſar was killed, and for that reaſon an unfortunate inauſpicious day. The Senate might have extraordinary meetings too on other days, if any thing urgent happened: but doubtleſs that was very ſeldom, after all authority was centered in one. *Dio. lv. & Suet. Aug. 35.*

Auguſtus likewiſe granted the Senators a vacation of two months, September and October. During that time the Senate was reduced to what we ſhould call a committee, being leſs numerous, compoſed only of a hundred members choſen by lot.

He granted the Prætors a new prerogative, which was a right to propoſe in the Senate a ſubject to be deliberated on. They had had no occaſion to deſire that privilege in the time of the old Republic, becauſe the Conſuls being then often obliged to be out of Rome on buſineſs of the ſtate, the Prætors took their places of courſe, and not only propoſed affairs in the Senate, but preſided there. Under the new government the Conſuls always reſided in Rome, and conſequently the Prætors had no function in the Senate; which hurt them ſo much the *New prerogative granted the Prætors. Dio.*

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more, as the Tribunes, a magiſtracy inferior to theirs in point of dignity, enjoyed a prero-
A.R.743. gative they were deprived of. They repreſented this to Auguſtus, who thought their requeſt juſt, and granted it.

Method practiſed to prevent Bribery.

Bribery to come at offices had not yet been entirely rooted out, neither by the change in the ſtate, nor the laws Auguſtus had made againſt that abuſe. In the year of Rome 744 he tried a method, which a paſſage in Cato's life moſt probably ſuggeſted him the thought of. Every candidate was to depoſit a ſum of money in his hands, to be forfeited in caſe they were convicted of illicit liberalities. This medium betwixt a mean connivance, and a rigour that would have branded great names, was extremely applauded.

See *Hiſt. of the Rom. Rep. Tom.* XIII. *p.* 86.

Auguſtus finds means to elude a law he dared not aboliſh.

The caſe was otherwiſe with regard to a ſubtility he imagined to elude a law that forbid putting ſlaves to the torture in criminal proceſſes againſt their maſter: this law did not pleaſe him, rightly judging it tended to favour ſecret plottings and conſpiracies, the only danger he then had to fear. He therefore cauſed it to be enacted, that the ſlaves of perſons accuſed of crimes againſt the ſtate, might be ſold to the Republic or the Emperor, by which means they were no longer ſcreened from being put to the torture, to make them confeſs what was wanted to be known. This was a palpable ſubterfuge, which preſerving the letter of the law, utterly deſtroyed its real intent. Many complained of the enormous abuſe of putting the lives of maſters thus into the power of their ſlaves. The moſt moderate excuſed the Emperor's taking this

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this precaution, as being neceſſary for the ſafety of his own perſon.

What well deſerves to be obſerved in all theſe new regulations is, that Auguſtus did not proceed in them with an abſolute authority, nor in any imperious manner. Before they were paſſed he ſubmitted them to the Senate's examination, ordering them to be fixed up in the Senate-houſe, that every Senator might read and conſider them, and ſpeak his mind freely. This moderation did not prevent his gaining his end, but carried him to it ſo much the more ſurely as the method was mild; and by gaining their hearts, ſecured their compliance. He proceeds with great moderation in all theſe new regulations.

Thus did he keep that wiſe medium ſo difficult to preſerve with ſovereign power: for it is above all things neceſſary, ſays Plutarch, [b] for a prince to maintain and keep up the authority of command. But that authority is not leſs maintained by abſtaining from what does not appertain to it, than by exerting its legal rights. He that ſoftens, or carries a thing too far, is properly ſpeaking no longer a Prince, but becomes either a flatterer of the people, or a deſpotic maſter; and, conſequently muſt be either deſpiſed or hated.

Theſe maxims were the ſoul of all Auguſtus's conduct: he was Prince in what concerned the public good, and a private man in what related to himſelf perſonally. A tax be- Other examples of his moderation and mildneſs. *Dio. l.* LIV. *& Suet. Aug.* 53—57.

[b] Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄρχοντα σώζειν πρῶτον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχήν. σώζεται δὲ ἐχ ἧττον ἀπεχομένη τῶ̃ μὴ προσήκοντως, ἢ περιεχομένη τῶ̃ προσήκοντος ὁ δ' ἐνδιδὼς, ὦ ἐπιείκειαν, ὡ μέτρε βασιλεῦς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ἀλλ' ἢ δημάγωλος ἢ δέσποτης γιγνόμενος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις. *Plut. in Compar. Theſei & Romuli.*

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ing to be levied by his orders, and under his authority, he gave in a declaration of what he was worth, juſt as if he had been a private citizen.

The Senate and people wanting to erect ſtatues to him, and having taxed themſelves to raiſe the neceſſary ſum for that purpoſe, he accepted the preſent, but changed the deſign it was intended for, and inſtead of ſtatues repreſenting himſelf, he erected others to the Public Welfare, to Concord, and to Peace: he even cauſed the ſilver ſtatues he had formerly permitted to be made of him to be melted down, and bought tripods of Gold for the temple of Apollo Palatine with the money they ſold for.

Such were the uſes he made of the preſents he often received either from bodies of men or from private perſons: for there was, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, an open commerce of liberalities between him and all the citizens. At every beginning of the year he received gifts from whoever brought them, and returned others, juſt as relations and friends do among one another. The whole ſtate ſeemed to be his family: and with what was thus given him he bought fine ſtatues to adorn the ſquares and ſtreets of the city.

Dio. & Suet. Aug. 91. I cannot here avoid mentioning a cuſtom he had to turn beggar one day every year, holding out his hand, and receiving the little bits of money the common people gave him. It was in conſequence of a dream that he impoſed on himſelf this odd and ſuperſtitious taſk, which ſhews the greateſt genius's have their foibles, and almoſt always pay in one ſhape or other the tribute of humanity.

Cares

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Cares more worthy him were those he took to provide for the convenience and safety of the city. He made the celebrated Messala superintendant of the aqueducts and public conduits; and appointed magistrates and officers under him, each of which had his prerogatives and functions. For laborious and servile tasks he gave the Republic a numerous company of slaves, brought up to those kind of works, and bequeathed to the Emperor by Agrippa.

His orders relating to aqueducts and conduits. *Frontin. de Aquæduct.*

Rome had always been subject to fires, as appears by Livy's history and many other authorities. In the year of Rome 745, under Tiberius's second Consulship, a very great one broke out, and burnt several houses. It was not occasioned by accident, but by a piece of fraud in the proprietors of those houses; who having ran themselves in debt, set fire to their houses themselves to excite the compassion of the public, expecting to receive in charitable contributions enough, not only to pay for the buildings, but to enrich themselves into the bargain. Their artifice was discovered, and they were justly thought undeserving relief.

To prevent fires. *Dio. l.* LV. *& Suet. Aug.* 30.

But it was a warning to Augustus to take such measures as might prevent for the future so dangerous an evil, even tho' fraud should have no share in it; and to make proper regulations in a thing of that importance. He divided the city into fourteen quarters, over each of which one of the annual Magistrates, Prætors, Tribunes or Ediles, was to preside. The Commissaries, before appointed with a right of inspection over a certain number of streets, were subordinate to these magistrates; and at the same

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ſame time received a power and juriſdiction over the ſlaves, who till then had been under the controul of the Ediles only, when their aſſiſtance was wanted to extinguiſh a fire.

Patrole. Theſe meaſures not proving ſufficient, and fires ſtill happening frequently, Auguſtus, twelve years after, formed a patrole, compoſed of ſeven cohorts, enliſting in this kind of militia none but freemen, and giving them a commander in chief, choſen out of the order of Knights. This patrole went their rounds regularly every night, and were a ſafeguard to the citizens, not only againſt fire, but likewiſe againſt robberies and murders. Every one was ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of this inſtitution, which inſtead of laſting for a time only, according to Auguſtus's firſt plan, became perpetual. It even became an illuſtrious body. When Dion Caſſius wrote, free-born citizens made no ſcruple to enter into it, and they had a regular pay, and guard rooms in the city. The commander of the patrole is mentioned in the Roman law, and his functions and prerogatives are deſcribed there.

His care to eaſe the ſubjects of the Empire. *Dio. l.* LIV. Auguſtus's care to eaſe the ſubjects of the Empire deſerves great praiſes too. We may judge of it by an inſtance Dion Caſſius mentions in the year of Rome 740. Aſia having ſuffered greatly by terrible earthquakes, Auguſtus paid their tribute out of his own money, ſending to the public treaſure the ſum that tribute would have amounted to. 'Tis true this payment, made out of the Prince's coffers to the treaſury of the Republic, was a kind of joke, the Emperor having equally the command

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mand of both. However, the Province of Asia was not less really exempted from a year's tribute.

His goodness towards private persons. *Suet. Aug.* 53.

I have spoken elsewhere of that ease and agreeable familiarity with which Augustus treated his friends, and acquitted himself of the duties of civil society. His goodness extended even to those he knew hardly any thing of. Being told that a Senator called Gallus Tetrinius, with whom he had never had but a very slight connexion, was excessively afflicted, at having lost his sight suddenly, and had resolved to starve himself; he went to see him, and by comforting and exhorting, prevailed on him to lay aside that dreadful resolution.

His clemency in the trial of a son that had attempted to kill his father. *Sen. de Clem.* l. 15.

His charming ease and clemency shine still more in an instance preserved by Seneca. T. Arius, a rich man, (that is all we know of him*) discovering his son had intended to kill him, resolved to judge the criminal himself; and to proceed with more solemnity, erected in his own house a domestic tribunal composed of his friends. Augustus was invited, went, and took place as counsellor and assistant judge for Arius. He did not say, as Seneca observes, "'Tis Arius's place to come to my "palace;" for that would have been divesting the father of his right, and taking cognizance of the affair to himself. The fact being proved, and judgment to be pronounced, Augustus

* *Unless T. Arius be the same with one L. Tarius Rufus, mentioned by Pliny, l.* XVIII. *6. who from the lowest birth raised himself by his merit and Augustus's favour to the highest honours and the Consulship. T. Arius and Tarius may easily be the same name wrote differently by an inadvertent copyist.*

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took particular care the votes ſhould be unbiaſſed; and being ſenſible his opinion, if known, would influence the reſt, he propoſed each ſhould give his opinion in writing, and not verbally: after that, he took a very ſingular precaution to avoid all ſuſpicion of being any ways governed by intereſt. He did not doubt but Arius would, as was the general cuſtom of that time, make him his ſole heir, after his ſon's condemnation. Arius's inheritance, however conſiderable it might be, was not an object worth Auguſtus's minding: but he likewiſe knew Princes, above all men, ſhould be extreamly cautious and tender of their reputation; and carrying his delicacy on that head even to a ſcruple, before the billets were opened, he ſolemnly proteſted he never would accept of any gift or legacy at any time left him by Arius's will. In the ſentence he inclined as much as poſſible to lenity, conſidering not what puniſhment the crime deſerved, but who the proſecutor was: thinking beſides, that the Prince's preſence ought always to be accompanied with favour and indulgence, he thought baniſhment a ſufficient puniſhment for the intended guilt of a raw young lad, enticed and urged on by others, and who trembling and diſconcerted, when only preparing to commit the crime, had even in that ſhewn his remorſe, and given room to hope the ſentiments of nature were not quite ſtifled in his heart. Arius readily approved of this leſſon of clemency given him by his Emperor: he procured his ſon a commodious exile, ſending him to Marſeilles, where he allowed him by way of penſion the ſame ſum

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he before uſed to give him for his yearly expences.

So many virtues ſhining in Auguſtus, ſo many benefactions ſpread by him all around, plainly prove it was not flattery, but gratitude, that engaged every order of the ſtate, every company, as well as private perſons, citizens, King's allies, and ſubjects of the Empire, to vie with each other who moſt ſhould celebrate and honour the author of their common felicity: and all their expreſſions of acknowledgment would have been quite laudable, had they kept within due bounds; and had not the then prevailing impiety induced them to carry them ſometimes even to idolatry. Suetonius has collected into one view, according to his uſual cuſtom, all that relates to thoſe demonſtrations of the public love for Auguſtus, in which I ſhall only copy him. Marks of public affection towards Auguſtus. *Suet. Aug.* 57—60.

That author declares he takes no notice of the decrees of the Senate, becauſe they may be ſuſpected not to have been quite free acts. But the Roman Knights voluntarily celebrated every year Auguſtus's birth-day, by a feſtival that laſted two days. All the orders, on a certain day every year, in conſequence of a vow they had made for his preſervation, went, and threw their offerings into the lake Curtius: a piece of ſuperſtition of which we find examples in every Pagan country. His palace having been burnt, the veterans, the bodies of Judges or Regiſters, the different tribes, and even private men, hurried to carry him money to help to rebuild it: whilſt, pleaſed with their good will, to ſhew them how much he was ſenſible of it, and at the

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the ſame time not to put them to expence; reaching his hand to each heap, he took as it were an acknowledgment, but not above a farthing from each. I have had occaſion more than once to ſpeak of the rejoicings made for his return to Rome, eſpecially if he had been abſent ſome time. It was on one of thoſe occaſions that the Auguſtalia feſtival was inſtituted, which ſtill ſubſiſted in Dion Caſſius's time. But nothing can be finer nor more moving than what paſſed when the title of Father of the Country was given him.

The title of Father of the Country is given him.

It was by a ſudden and univerſal conſent of the whole nation that name, ſo glorious when ſo juſtly deſerved, was given him. The people began firſt, and whilſt Auguſtus was at Antium, ſent a ſolemn deputation there to offer it him. That offer not being accepted, the whole people repeated it ſome time after with an unanimous acclamation, juſt as the Emperor was going into the Theatre. In ſhort, the Senators having conſulted among themſelves, Meſſala ſpoke in the name of all, and in full Senate ſaid, "Cæſar [a] Auguſtus, * The Senate and "Roman people, wiſhing all happineſs and "proſperity to you and your family (for that "wiſh includes the laſting happineſs of the

[a] Quod bonum fauſtumque ſit tibi domuique tuæ, Cæſar Auguſte, (ſic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem Reipublicæ - - - - precari exiſtimamus) Senatus te conſentiens cum populo Romano conſalutat PATRIÆ PATREM.

* *It was cuſtomary at new inſtitutions, creations of magiſtrates, and on other ſuch like occaſions, firſt to form wiſhes for the proſperity of the nation and the whole ſtate. Meſſala pays Auguſtus a very pretty compliment here, in praying only for his proſperity, that of the Empire being of courſe included in it.*

"Republic)

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" Republic) with one voice ſalute you Father " of your Country." Thoſe were the very words, ſimple and full of energy, made uſe of by Meſſala. Auguſtus [b] was moved even to tears, and anſwered, " Having now reached, " Gentlemen, the utmoſt height of my wiſhes, " what more can I aſk from the immortal " Gods, but that you may have for me, till " the laſt moment of my life, the ſentiments " you now expreſs?" Auguſtus was very right, and that day was certainly the moſt glorious of his life. Can any triumph, be it ever ſo pompous, be compared to this tender and lively expreſſion of public love and affection? I appeal to whoever has bowels, and can feel.

Fathers of families would order by their wills their bodies to be carried, after their death to the Capitol, and ſacrifices to be there offered up in their names to diſcharge their vows, if dying they left Auguſtus alive. Several cities altered the beginning of their year in honour to him, reckoning the firſt day that on which he viſited them. In the provinces, beſides temples and altars erected to him, games were inſtituted to celebrate the glory of his name every five years. Kings, allies of the Empire, moſt of them founded in their dominions cities that they named Cæſareas. The moſt famous with regard to us is Cæſarea in Paleſtine, built by

[b] Cui lacrymans reſpondit Auguſtus his verbis - - - - Compos factus votorum meorum, P. C. quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quàm ut hunc conſenſum veſtrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferre liceat? *Suet. Aug.* 58.

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Herod, the dedication of which that Prince, who was neither Jew nor Gentile, but whatever beſt ſuited his turn, ſolemniſed by games, attended with all the ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm.

He is a fourth time continued in the Imperial power. *Dio. l.* LV.

Amidſt theſe applauſes of the whole univerſe, Auguſtus received a fourth prorogation of the Imperial power, which he at firſt had feigned to accept, as we have ſeen, only for ten years. The ſecond prorogation in 734 was limited to a ſhorter time, being only for five years; and that was followed by * another of the ſame duration. The twenty years being expired, he again pretended a deſire to reſign, but however let them once more prevail on him to bear ten years longer a burden ſo ſweet to his ambition, and which after all it was for the benefit of mankind he ſhould bear. This happened under the Conſulſhip of Aſinius Gallus and Marcius; and that date brings us back to the order of time. But before we enter upon it, I muſt give the reader an account of ſome things I have not yet had an opportunity to mention.

Dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus. *Frieſham,* CXXXVII. 14.

The firſt is the dedication of Marcellus's Theatre, a vaſt building, large enough to contain thirty thouſand ſpectators. It was a new embelliſhment to Rome, and a monument conſecrated by Auguſtus to the memory of a nephew infinitely dear to him. The dedication of this Theatre was celebrated the year 741 of

* *It has been ſaid that under the year of Rome* 739, *Auguſtus cauſed Agrippa to be continued in the power of Tribune, which had been given him for five years. It was doubtleſs at the ſame time that he cauſed himſelf to be again continued in the Imperial power, the five years of which expired at the ſame time as Agrippa's Tribuneſhip.*

Rome

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Rome by magnificent games and ſhews, in which, among other things, ſix hundred panthers were hunted to death. What they called the Game of Troy was likewiſe performed, and Caius Cæſar the Emperor's ſon was one of the actors.

Auguſtus was fond of antiquity from principle and taſte, and prided himſelf on being thought a lover and reſtorer of the old cuſtoms and ceremonies. In conſequence of that way of thinking, he was glad of an opportunity to revive the Prieſthood of Jupiter, that had been vacant ſeventy-ſeven years: the laſt who had that title, Merula,* having been reduced by Cinna to the neceſſity of killing himſelf, Cæſar, then very young, was named to that office. Sylla prevented his taking poſſeſſion of it, ſtript him of his right, and no body had been appointed in his place. The Senate and chiefs of the Republic had other things to think of during the civil wars and inteſtine commotions of the State. Auguſtus having at length made a calm ſucceed thoſe ſtorms, thought it would be an honour to his government to reſcue from oblivion a prieſthood inſtituted by Numa, to which great privileges were annexed, and the want of which ſeemed to make religion loſe a part of its ſplendor.

The prieſthood of Jupiter reeſtabliſhed.

Dio. l. LIV.

* See *Hiſt. of the Rom. Rep. T.* X. *p.* 48.

This year death deprived Auguſtus of his ſiſter Octavia; though he had in ſome meaſure loſt her twelve years before, by the melancholy and inconſoleable mourning in which ſhe paſſed all the time ſhe out-lived her ſon Marcellus. This Lady, in every reſpect deſerving the higheſt praiſes, carried her grief for the loſs

Octavia dies after twelve years inconſoleable mourning for the death of her ſon Marcellus.

Sen. Conſol. ad Marc. c. 2.

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of her ſon to an inexcuſable exceſs. From that [a] moment ſhe never ceaſed to bewail and lament; obſtinately refuſing to hear any thing that could be ſaid to mitigate her ſorrow: ſhe would not even let any body attempt to comfort her. Wholly intent on that one thought, and ſuffering her mind to dwell on no other object, ſhe glutted herſelf with tears. She would have no picture, no repreſentation of a ſon ſo tenderly beloved, nor ſuffer any one even to mention his name in her hearing. She hated all mothers :- but jealouſy made her furious above all againſt Livia, whoſe ſons ſeemed deſtined to inherit the fortune Marcellus would have had. Delighting in nothing but ſolitude and darkneſs, ſhe ſeemed as if dazzled by the too great luſtre that environed her brother, and far from ſeeking comfort from him, hid, and as it were buried herſelf to avoid him. Though ſhe ſaw around her three * daughters married, and ſeveral grand-children, yet ſhe perſiſted

[a] Nullum finem, per omne vitæ ſuæ tempus, flendi gemendique fecit: nec ullas admiſit voces ſalutare aliquid afferentes. Intenta in unam rem, & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit, qualis in funere. Nullam habere imaginem cariſſimi filii voluit, nullam ſibi fieri de illo mentionem. Oderat omnes matres, & in Liviam maximè furebat: quia videbatur ad illius filium tranſiſſe ſibi promiſſa felicitas. Tenebris & ſolitudini familiariſſima, ne ad fratrem quidem reſpiciens . . & ipſam magnitudinis fraternæ nimis circumlucentem fortunam exoſa, defodit ſe & abdidit. Aſſidentibus liberis, nepotibus, lugubrem veſtem non depoſuit: non ſine contumelia omnium ſuorum, quibus ſalvis orba ſibi videbatur. *Sen. Conſol. ad Marc. c. 2.*

* *Marcella, married to Julus Antonius; and the two Antonia's, one married to L. Domitius, and the other to Druſus.*

perſiſted to wear mourning all her life, ſtill looking on herſelf as childleſs in the midſt of ſo numerous and flouriſhing a family. In that manner did ſhe live twelve years, as I have ſaid, and death only could end her affliction.

Auguſtus, who had always loved his ſiſter tenderly, rendered her all the honours imaginable after her death. He pronounced her funeral oration in the temple built in honour of Cæſar: and Druſus, then alive, pronounced another from the Tribunal for harangues: Octavia's three ſons-in-law, Druſus, Domitius, and Julus Antonius, bore her body to the field of Mars, where the funeral ceremony was performed. The Senate honoured her memory by ſuch decrees, that Auguſtus thought it incumbent on him to put a ſtop to them. He had built in his ſiſter's life-time a monument to perpetuate her name, of which I have ſpoken* elſewhere, Octavia's Portico.

* *Hiſt. of the Rom. Rep. T. XV. p. 367.*

Livia behaved very differently from Octavia under the very ſame circumſtance, the loſs of her ſon Druſus, which happened ſoon after, as I have ſaid. She wept for her ſon's death, but without being troubleſome to any body; above all avoiding to add to the grief of Auguſtus, already ſufficiently afflicted. She accepted the honours offered to alleviate her ſorrows, ſtatues, and the privileges † of mothers of three

Livia bears with courage the loſs of her ſon Druſus. *Sen. Conſol. ad Marc.* 3 & 4.

† *Auguſtus's laws, in order to increaſe the number of citizens, granted ſeveral privileges to fathers and mothers of three children; ſuch as being exempt from certain taxes levied upon collateral inheritances: the advantage of having the preference in nominations to employments and offices, and other ſuch like.*

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children: and whilſt ſhe lived never ceaſed to celebrate the praiſes of Druſus, calling to mind the image and remembrance of him on all occaſions; liking to ſpeak of him, and delighting to hear others praiſe him. Livia had courage and elevation of mind, and her grief was certainly more reaſonable than Octavia's.

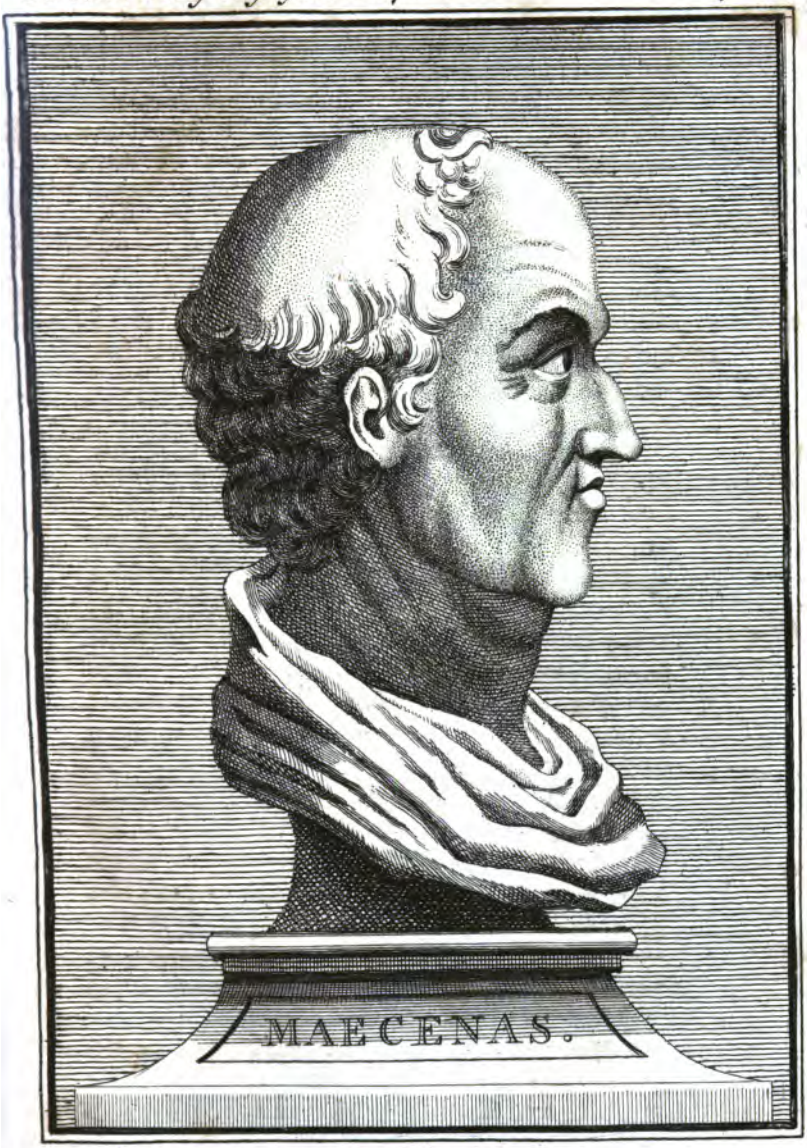
A.R. 744. bef. C. 8. The death of Mecænas, under the Conſuls Aſinius Gallus and Marcius Cenſorinus, was a new affliction to Auguſtus. Though this old confidant and miniſter had loſt ſomewhat of his credit in latter times, yet Auguſtus was too well acquainted with his merit, and piqued himſelf on too much conſtancy in his friendſhips, not to regret the companion of all his great undertakings. Of this he gave a proof five years afterwards, when being at laſt made acquainted with his daughter Julia's diſſolute conduct, and in the firſt heat of paſſion having made it public, he afterwards repented it; being ſenſible what a reflection it was on himſelf to have expoſed in that manner his daughter, and the ſhame of his family. "Ah! *, "ſaid he, this would not have happened, if "Agrippa or Mecænas had been alive."

Mecænas's death. His credit was grown leſs. *Dio. l.* LV.

The coldneſs between Auguſtus and Mecænas is aſcribed to a cauſe very ſhameful for that great Emperor, his criminal commerce with Terentia, his miniſter's wife. What gives me room to form ſome doubt of this, is Tacitus's ſilence, who, ſpeaking of the decay of Mecænas's credit, ſeeks the cauſe of it in

* Horum nihil mihi accidiſſet, ſi aut Agrippa aut Mecænas vixiſſet. *Sen. de Benef.* VI. 32.

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Ex Gemmis Philippi de Stoch.

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a [a] kind of fatality, or in the diſguſt at length conceived, either by the maſter when he has given all, or by the miniſter when nothing more remains for him to acquire. If Tacitus had thought there was any truth in the report of Auguſtus's intrigue with Terentia, he certainly would not have omitted it. Perhaps Dion Caſſius truſted too much to common fame. A.R. 744. bef. C. 8.

It is true Mecænas was all his life the dupe of his paſſion for Terentia, a capricious fantaſtical woman, whoſe humours gave him perpetual uneaſineſs, quarrelling with each other and being reconciled every day, putting her away one moment and taking her again the next; ſo that he was [b] married a thouſand times, ſays Seneca, and never had but one wife. His foible for his wife Terentia.

Theſe continual wrangles could not but hurt the health of a man, born with a weakly conſtitution, and who by his effeminate way of life had encreaſed his natural delicacy and tenderneſs. He did not ſleep, and uſed every method to lull himſelf to reſt: he tried wine; the murmuring of a caſcade, or concerts of muſic in an apartment remote from that where he lay, that the harmony of the inſtruments, ſoftened by the diſtance, might ſtrike his ear with a pleaſing melody, fit to procure him an agreeable repoſe: but all was in vain: the inward trouble of his mind prevented the effect of thoſe expenſive outward helps. *Sen. de Provid. c. 3.*

[a] Fato potentiæ rarò ſempiternæ: an fatias capit, aut illos, quum omnia tribuerunt: aut hos, quum jam nihil reliquum eſt quod cupiant. *Tac. Ann.* III. 30.

[b] Qui uxorem millies duxit, quum unam habuerit. *Sen. ep.* 114.

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A.R.744. bef. C. 8. His effeminacy. *Sen. ep. 114.* Such was the weakneſs of that great genius, full of vigour for buſineſs, but in his private conduct and domeſtic affairs indolent to an incredible degree. Nor did he diſſemble it; but, on the contrary, made a public ſhew of his effeminacy. He never wore a girdle; and even when, in Auguſtus's abſence, he acted as chief and ſupreme commander, the officer who came to receive orders from him would find him in a looſe gown hanging down to his heels. At times and places where the greateſt decency was required, at aſſemblies, on the Tribunal for harangues, he would appear with a kind of hood over his head, ſo ſhaped that both his ears might be ſeen. Amidſt the horrors of civil wars, whilſt the whole city was in a tumult, and every man armed, Mecænas's train was two eunuchs walking by his ſide.

His ſtile affected. This effeminacy of manners inevitably tainted his ſtile. There were, in Seneca's time, ſeveral works of his in proſe and verſe. A fine and great genius plainly appeared in them, but ſpoilt by a taſte depraved and corrupted by delicacy and voluptuouſneſs. They were full of affected turns; a diſagreeable conſtruction of words capriciouſly put together; a viſible affectation to avoid the common and uſual ways of expreſſion; periods wound up, not with that harmony that delights the ear, but with ſtudied diſſonances, fitter to ſtun and amaze.

Verſes in which he expreſſes an extream fondneſs of life. Noble and elevated ſentences, which conſtitute the chief beauty of a work, are incompatible with ſuch a ſtile: we may judge therefore they could hardly prevail in Mecænas's writings;

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writings; and without being ſuicide mad, like Seneca: one cannot, in my opinion, but think with him, ſuch a fondneſs of life as Mecænas expreſſes in the following * lines, deſerving of contempt. A.R. 744. bef. C. 8. *Sen. ep.* 101.

Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxâ,
Tuber adſtue gibberum,
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum ſupereſt, bene eſt.
Hanc, mihi vel acutâ
Si ſedeam cruce, ſuſtine.

This was a very wrong way of thinking: but whoever is acquainted with man cannot be ignorant how much he is made up of inconſiſtencies, nor to what degree weakneſſes, really deſerving pity, may be joined to talents that muſt command the higheſt admiration. Mecænas, notwithſtanding ſo many defects in his character and conduct, was nevertheleſs a very great genius, an able miniſter, and what is more, a faithful friend to his Prince, to whom he would ſpeak with the greateſt freedom, not fearing to repreſent to him ſometimes truths even diſagreable. His love for learning, and the patronage he granted ſuch as excelled in it, have at all times ſecured him the praiſes of the favourites of the Muſes. But what ought above all to gain him eſteem and even affection, is, that he was mild and humane; that he never

His good qualities.

* *The literal tranſlation runs thus: "Let me be lame "of hands, feet and thighs, "hump-backed, my teeth looſe; "if I live, I am content: even if impaled, let me but "live, 'tis all I wiſh."*

made

A. R. 744. Ante C. 8. made an ill uſe of the deſpotic power with which he was entruſted ſeveral years; that in a bloody age he was not fond of blood; and often, by his wiſe counſels and ſtrong remonſtrances, even put a ſtop to the bent Auguſtus had towards cruelty in his youth. 'Tis downright ill humour in Seneca to refuſe him the praiſes he deſerves on this account, and to have, by a malignant interpretation, called his *mildneſs weakneſs, and ſaid he was puſillanimous, not humane. Mecænas was a man of ſtrong parts; and if generoſity and good-nature had not kept him from extreams, he had all that was neceſſary to carry a man the greateſt lengths.

Sen. ep. 114.

Hot baths not known before him. Some think him author of the art of ſhort-hand writing. *Dio.*

Dion Caſſius makes him author of the firſt hot baths that were built in Rome; and this piece of delicacy, unknown to the ancients, ſuits very well the effeminate character of Mecænas. Another invention more eſtimable, which the ſame hiſtorian aſcribes to him, is the uſe of characters, by the ancients called *notæ*, by the help of which they wrote as faſt as a man can ſpeak; ſo that the diſcourſes or harangues of orators might be faithfully collected as they pronounced them. Tiro, Cicero's freeman, is generally thought to have been the inventor of this uſeful and ingenious art. Perhaps Mecænas, or ſome of his freemen, might perfect what Tiro firſt thought of.

His will, in which he recommends Horace to Auguſtus.

Mecænas, by his will, appointed Auguſtus his heir, and executor for the legacies he left his friends. It is no ſmall honour to Horace

* Apparet mollem fuiſſe, non mitem.

to

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to have been recommended to the Emperor by a perſon of that diſtinction, in theſe words: " [b] Be mindful of Horace as of myſelf." Great men in thoſe days treated men of letters of ſuperior merit on the footing of friends, and allowed them to do the ſame reciprocally, as appears from Horace's works. A. R. 744. bef. C. 8.

The Emperor himſelf did not think it beneath him to be familiar with Horace, who, it muſt be owned, to his talent for poetry added all the accompliſhments of a fine gentleman. Auguſtus would joke with him in his letters almoſt as if he had been his equal. He offered to make him his Secretary, and admit him to his own table; but Horace preferring liberty to all other conſiderations refuſed it; nor was the Emperor in the leaſt diſpleaſed: for writing to him ſome time after he ſays, " Septimius will " tell you in what manner I have ſpoken of " you to him: for [c] if you are proud enough " to ſlight my friendſhip, it does not follow " that I muſt ſhew the ſame pride towards " you." Auguſtus's kind familiarity with that poet.

He obligingly complains in the ſame familiar joking ſtrain, that Horace had not inſcribed any of his poetry to him. " I [d] would have " you to know, ſays he, I am angry with you " that you don't converſe with me in moſt of " your works: are you afraid poſterity may " think it was a ſhame to you to have been

[b] Horatii Flacci, ut mei, memor eſto. *Auct. vit. Hor.*

[c] Neque ſi tu ſuperbus amicitiam noſtram ſpreviſti, ideò nos quoque ἀνθυπερφανεύεσθαι. *Auct. vit. Hor.*

[d] Iraſci me tibi ſcito, quòd non in pleriſque ſcriptis mecum potiſſimùm loquaris. An vereris ne apud poſteros tibi infame ſit, quòd videaris familiaris nobis eſſe?

" ranked

A.R. 744. Bef. C. 8. "ranked among my friends?" It was in consequence of this reproach that Horace compoſed and inſcribed to him the firſt Epiſtle of his Second Book.

I thought theſe particularities concerning Horace the more proper to be mentioned here, as I ſhall not have occaſion to ſpeak of him any more. He died the ſame year as Mecænas, and moſt * probably a little before that illuſtrious friend, as he had wiſhed to do.† His being mentioned in Mecænas's will only proves that will to have been made before Horace's death, and that the teſtator would not be at the trouble of altering it. Horace's illneſs was ſo ſudden and violent that he had not time to make a will: all he could do was to ſay verbally he made Auguſtus his heir.

Horace's death.

* *F. Sanadon in his life of Horace is of this opinion.*

† *Hor. Od.* II. 17.

I have nothing more to mention relating to the year of Rome 744, except the reſtoration of the order Cæſar firſt introduced into the Calendar, which was again grown faulty through the ignorance of the Pontifs: for inſtead of inſerting the biſſextile day after a revolution of four years, and at the beginning of the fifth, the Pontifs had done it at the beginning of every fourth year: ſo that in the ſpace of thirty-ſix years, the laſt of which was the year 742, they had inſerted twelve inſtead of nine intercalary days. The miſtake being perceived, Auguſtus corrected it, by ordering there ſhould be no intercalation for twelve compleat years to come, to be reckoned from the year 743,* which was biſſextile.

Order of the Calendar reſtored.

Solin. c. 3. Macrob. Sat. l. 14.

* *The year of Rome* 743 *was the thirty-ſeventh ſince the reformation of the Calendar; and the twelfth intercalary*

By

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Ex Num. in Thes. Christianae Reg. Aug.

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By this means the three days that had been added too much were abſorbed, and the Calendar went regularly on as ſettled by Cæſar, making the year 759 the firſt biſſextile after this interruption. † To prevent any farther miſtakes of that kind, Auguſtus cauſed the order of the Calendar to be engraved on a plate of braſs. A.R. 744. bef. C. 8.

TI. CLAUDIUS NERO II.
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO. A.R. 745. bef. C. 7.

TIBERIUS triumphed the ſame day that he took poſſeſſion of his ſecond Conſulſhip, as Marius and L. Antonius had done before. Soon after he ſet out for Germany, where an inſurrection was apprehended, though nothing remarkable did happen. Tiberius triumphs. *Dio.*

Votive games were celebrated this year, to return thanks for Auguſtus's happy return; and funeral games in honour of Agrippa. I ſhall not dwell on thoſe trivial circumſtances.

tercalary day fell in the month of February that year, according to the Pontifs erroneous calculations. Twelve whole years were neceſſary to abſorb thoſe three ſuperfluous days; and after that, four years more, before another intercalary day could take place: conſequently the year 759 was to be the next biſſextile year.

† *Cenſorinus*, de die natali, c. 22. *Dion Caſſius and Suttonius ſay it was in this year 744 the name of the month* Sextilis *was changed to* Auguſtus. *I have placed it twenty years ſooner, for which I have the authority of Livy's Epitomiſer, which I take to be the ſame as the authority of Livy himſelf. This difference may be reconciled by ſuppoſing, with Frienſhemius, the new name was not yet generally uſed, but was ordered to be ſo by a new law made this year.*

This

A.R. 745. bef. C. 7. This year was finiſhed a vaſt building, the largeſt, according to Dion Caſſius, that ever was cloſed under one roof; and ſuch, that when deſtroyed by age, no body was able to repair it, ſo that it was quite open in that hiſtorian's time. This building, called Diribitorium, was began by Agrippa, and finiſhed by Auguſtus. What uſe it was intended for is not well known, poſſibly becauſe it was not deſtined to any in particular, but might in great heats or cold, or when it rained, ſerve for numerous meetings, inſtead of their other places that were uncovered.

A.R. 746. bef. C. 6. D. LÆLIUS BALBUS.
C. ANTISTIUS VETUS.

Beginning of the elevation of Caius and Lucius Cæſars adoptive ſons to Auguſtus.

AS Auguſtus's ſons grew up, they gave him a pleaſure which began to be mixed with ſome uneaſineſs. It was a great ſatisfaction to him to ſee thoſe props of his family and power gather ſtrength: but the young Princes, accuſtomed to grandeur from the hour of their birth, who had never ſeen the old form of government, nor the Republican equality, and were doubtleſs continually ſurrounded by a crowd of flatterers, did not ſhew ſo much mildneſs and moderation as Auguſtus would have wiſhed to find in them. Effeminacy, oſtentation and pride had already taken poſſeſſion of them; and the honours their Emperor and adoptive father beſtowed on them, did not ſatisfy their growing ambition.

Two years before he diſtributed gratifications to the legions in Germany, in the name of C. Cæſar,

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C. Cæſar, his eldeſt ſon, who then twelve years old was making his firſt campain under Tiberius. Next year he had made him preſide over the games in the abſence of Tiberius, who was returned to Germany. His deſign in ſhewing him thus was to induce the citizens and ſoldiers to like him; to advance him by degrees, and in ſhort to conduct the plan of his elevation ſo dexterouſly, that whilſt he was preparing the road for him to the higheſt honour, he might not have room to accuſe himſelf of having precipitated matters, nor puffed up his young courage too much. A.R. 746. bef. C. 6.

The audaciouſneſs of Caius Cæſar and his brother Lucius was already ſo great they could not brook delay. This year 746, Lucius, not yet quite eleven years old, came of his own accord to the theatre, to challenge as it were the applauſes of the Nobility and multitude aſſembled there to ſee the games; and emboldened by the ſucceſs he met with, ventured to ſollicit the Conſulſhip for his brother, only fourteen years old, and ſtill in his infant's dreſs. Auguſtus expreſſed great indignation, more than he really felt. "The gods forbid, cried he, "that ever the Republic ſhould be reduced to "the neceſſity in which I ſaw it in my youth, "to be forced to chuſe a Conſul under twenty "years old!" Words full of artifice and diſſimulation, by which at the ſame time that he condemned the childrens raſhneſs, he inſinuated his deſign to make them Conſuls at the age of twenty. The people preſſed hard, but Auguſtus thought what he had ſaid a ſufficient opening, and anſwered them with this ſevere

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A.R.746. bef. C. 6. severe rebuke: "To possess that high post, "said he, a man ought to be able to avoid "committing any fault himself, and to resist "the turbulent desires of the multitude." He therefore would not yield as to the Consulship: but made Caius a Pontif, with a right to be present in the senate, and to rank with the Senators either at public diversions or at festivals. At the same time, as if he intended to shew that young Prince a rival that might keep him in awe, he gave Tiberius the power of Tribune for five years, with orders to go and pacify the troubles that were breaking out in Armenia.

Inscrip. ap. Pigh. ad an. 748.

Tiberius is made Tribune, and retires to Rhodes.

The effect of this was what generally is the consequence of a conduct of this kind: the son and son-in-law were both dissatisfied with what Augustus had done. Caius was piqued to see Tiberius put in competition with him: and Tiberius, who was very quick sighted, easily perceived he was only made use of as a phantom to fright a child; and that he should be discarded as soon as Caius should attain the age Augustus wanted him to be of. It is even probable that he looked on his commission to go to Armenia as an honourable exile; and therefore resolving to banish himself in earnest, suddenly desired leave to retire. Perhaps too he might have another reason for it, I mean his wife Julia's disorderly conduct, which he could neither bear with nor prevent: but the chief and real motive was undoubtedly what I first said: the same that had before determined Agrippa to retire to Mitylenum, when he saw the elevation of Marcellus.

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Auguſtus was equally ſurpriſed and offended at this rough way of proceeding, which diſcovered his policy too plainly, and deprived him of a ſupport he thought neceſſary, at leaſt for a time: he left nothing untried to make Tiberius change his mind, and inſiſted the more ſtrongly, as all the reaſons the latter made uſe of were viſibly nought but pretences. In the flower of his age, full of health and vigour, he alledged want of reſt, and a diſlike to honours and a public life. Auguſtus went ſo far as to complain to the Senate that his ſon-in-law forſook him: Livia condeſcended to entreaties and humble ſupplications: but Tiberius had inherited all the obſtinacy of the Claudii: he was inflexible; and even abſtained from eating four days to extort the permiſſion that was refuſed him. Auguſtus then conſented at laſt to his departure; and Tiberius, leaving his wife and ſon at Rome, immediately ſet out for Oſtium, attended by a great number of perſons who conducted him out of compliment, and to whom he ſaid not one civil word. A.R. 746. bef. C. 6. *Suet. Tib.* c. 10 & 11.

He took ſhipping directly; but as he ſailed along the coaſt of Campania, hearing Auguſtus was a little out of order, ſlackened his courſe: being, however, farther informed there was no occaſion for his delays, he was in ſuch a violent hurry to get on, that even the badneſs of the weather could not ſtop him; nor was it without danger he arrived at Rhodes, a place he formerly had liked when he paſſed thro' it on his return from Armenia. There he had ample leiſure to repent having taken ſo haſty a reſolution, and to grow weary of his retirement, which laſted ſeven years.

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A.R. 747. bef. C. 5.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS XII.
L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

Caius Cæsar takes the virile robe. *Dio. Suet. Aug.* 26.

AUGUSTUS seemed to have quite renounced the Conſulſhip, which had been ſeveral times offered him, and he had conſtantly refuſed. After an interval of ſeventeen years, he choſe to be adorned with it again, not on his own account, but for the ſake of his ſon Caius, who being then entering into his fifteenth year, was going to put on the virile robe.

That ceremony was performed with great pomp by the Romans. The father, attended by the relations and friends of the family, conducted his ſon to the Capitol, there to pay the Gods homage of the firſt fruits of the fineſt age of human life. From thence the young man, having changed his robe edged with purple for a plain one, was conducted by the ſame company to the public place, to ſignify his being initiated in the adminiſtration both of public and private affairs, in which he acquired from that moment a right to take part.

Auguſtus being to go through that ceremony for his eldeſt ſon, thought it would be more pompous if done whilſt he was Conſul. The Conſulſhip had ſtill luſtre enough to add, if not power, yet a kind of ſplendor to the Imperial dignity.

Is appointed Conſul, and receives the title of Prince of the Youth.

As ſoon as Caius had taken the virile robe, the Senate and people named him Conſul, to enter on the functions of that poſt in five years: and the Roman Knights preſenting him with ſilver

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silver lances, gave him the new, and till then unheard of title of PRINCE OF THE YOUTH. Augustus seemed to yield with reluctance [a] to these premature honours; though in fact he desired nothing more earnestly. Augustus's twelfth Consulship affords no other event. A. R. 747. bef. C. 5.

But if the Roman History be barren this year, the History of Religion is in return abundantly rich, and affords us the greatest event that ever was; the birth of the * Redeemer promised to men, and expected for four thousand years; of the Son of God who came to restore our nature by taking it upon himself, and to open us the way to eternal happiness. Augustus, without knowing it, concurred in the execution of the designs of Providence in favour of man, by the numbering of the people he had ordered three years before, and which was executing in Judæa at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, which happened the 25th of December of this year. Quirinus, mentioned by St. Luke, speaking of this numbering of the people, is P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who was Consul in the year of Rome 740, an illustrious person, of whom we shall have farther occasion to speak. Birth of Jesus Christ.

[a] Caium & Lucium *Principes Juventutis* appellati, destinari Consules, specie recusantis flagrantissimè cupiverat. TAC. *Ann.* I. 3.

* *I have already observed, that, according to the best chronologers, J. C. was born four years before the Christian Era now in use: and if we would be more exact, the years of Christ should be dated from the 25th of December, and not the 1st of January.*

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A.R. 748. C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.
bef. C. 4. L. PASSIENUS RUFUS.

Death of Herod.

THE year in which Sabinus and Paſſienus were Conſuls, is only memorable by the death of Herod, who, after ſhedding the blood of his wife and three ſons, and crowned his crimes by a deſign to kill the new-born Meſſias, at length expired in the racking pains of an illneſs in which the hand of God was viſible. Joſephus gives an account of the tragical ſcenes that inhuman Prince perpetrated in his own family, which made Auguſtus ſay he would rather be Herod's hog than his ſon. By his will, which was not to take place unleſs ratified by the Emperor, he divided his dominions among his three remaining ſons, leaving to Archelaus Judæa, Idumea, and Samaria; to Philip, Trachonitum, and ſome other little countries; and to Herod Antipas, Galilee and Perea. Auguſtus confirmed the will, only refuſing Archelaus the title of King, which his father had enjoyed, and giving him that of *Ethnarch*, a Greek word, which ſignifies *Prince of a Nation*.

Joſeph. Antiq. XV. XVI. & XVII. & *de Bel. Jud.* I. *Macrob. Sat.* II. 4.

The Roman Hiſtory, ſtill barren, partly in conſequence of the profound peace that then reigned over the world, and partly for want of records, gives us for the year following only the names of the Conſuls Lentulus and Meſſalinus.

L. COR-

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L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. A.R. 749.
M. VALERIUS MESSALINUS. bef. C. 3.

THE ſecond of theſe two Conſuls is better known to us than the firſt: he was ſon to the Orator Meſſala, and according to Tacitus, had inherited part of his father's eloquence. *Tac. Ann.* III. 34.

Imp. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS XIII. A.R. 750. bef. C. 2.
C. CANINIUS GALLUS.

AUGUSTUS treated his two adoptive ſons with a perfect equality: for which reaſon Lucius, the youngeſt of the two, having attained the age at which his brother had taken the virile robe, the Emperor repeated for him all he had done for Caius. He again was Conſul, for the thirteenth and laſt time, to give him the virile robe with greater ſolemnity. He permitted, or rather managed ſo, that the ſame honours which his brother had enjoyed, were given him: and particularly the title of Prince of the Youth, and to be put in nomination to hold the Conſulſhip five years after. Thus did he increaſe his ſupports, perhaps with a view to make them counter-balance each other; but moſt certainly in expectation of finding a reſource in one, if the other failed. Lucius Cæſar takes the virile robe, and receives the ſame honours with his brother. *Dio.* & *Suet. Aug.* 26.

Diſtributions of corn and money, feaſts, games and ſhews, were, as I have obſerved, the baits with which Auguſtus ſecured the love of the people. All theſe were employed this year, Games and ſhews. *Dio.*

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A.R. 750. bef. C. 2. and the reader will, I believe, readily pardon my not entering into a minute detail of them, though I cannot omit mentioning two things remarkably ſingular and magnificent. Auguſtus cauſed the Circus Flaminius to be filled with water, and thirty-ſix live crocodiles to be put into it, which were killed by men uſed to fight thoſe animals. He likewiſe preſented the people with the repreſentation of a naval fight, in a baſon dug on purpoſe eighteen hundred feet long by two hundred wide; ſo that above thirty ſhips of war could tack about, and perform all the motions of a battle.

Lapis Ancyr.

Creation of two commanders of the Prætorian guards. *Dio. Tac. Ann.* IV. 5.

Auguſtus inſtituted this year two commanders of the Prætorian Cohorts, choſen out of the order of Knights. Theſe Cohorts, deſtined to be the Emperor's guard, compoſed at that time a numerous body. There were nine or ten of them, each cohort conſiſting of a thouſand choſen men, levied in the countries neareſt Rome, in Etruria, Umbria and Latium. They had hitherto had no other commander in chief than the Emperor himſelf, but had been commanded by their particular Præfects, who received their orders directly from the Prince. Auguſtus probably thought to eaſe himſelf by appointing General Commanders, to whom he could truſt the detail of matters. He choſe them from among the order of Knights, rather than out of the Senate, for political reaſons without doubt, and not to truſt a command of ſuch importance to men already powerful in themſelves: he created two of thoſe commanders, that they might be a check on each other. What he foreſaw, and ſtrove to prevent, happened.

Dio. l. LII. *in Orat. Mæcen.*

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pened. Thoſe commanders, not much thought of at firſt, became in time the firſt officers of the Empire, and often formidable to the Emperors themſelves. A.R. 750. bef. C. 2.

Tacitus in his Republican ſtile ſays, [a] Auguſtus's domeſtic ills revenged the Republic of the too great aſcendant he had gained over it. It was in the year I am now writing of, that thoſe misfortunes firſt broke out, and that Prince, in the midſt of his glory, was covered with public ſhame by the lewdneſs of his daughter Julia, to which he had been a ſtranger till then. Auguſtus is made acquainted with his daughter Julia's looſe conduct.

Nor was he leſs apprehenſive of any thing than of that, truſting to the good education he had given her: for he had taken particular care to bring her up well, giving her virtuous attendants, who never left her alone, and what may ſeem incredible to us, who kept day by day an exact account of all ſhe ſaid or did. She had been taught to work in wool, an old cuſtom among the Roman ladies, and which he was ſo careful to keep up in his family, that moſt of the cloaths he wore were ſpun by his daughter, wife, and ſiſter. Above all he was extremely cautious not to let Julia have any connection with ſtrangers; ſo much that being informed a handſome young man had paid her a viſit at Baii, Auguſtus wrote him a letter full of reproaches, taxing him with indiſcretion and want of reſerve. *Suet. Aug.* 64. *id. ib.* 73.

Julia's nature, inclined to vice and diſſoluteneſs, got the better of all paternal care. Freed

[a] Ut valida divo Auguſto in Rempublicam fortuna, ita domi improſpera fuit. *Tac. Ann.* III. 24.

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A.R. 750. bef. C. 2. from all reſtraint by her age, and by having changed her ſtate from the time of her marriage with Agrippa, ſhe gave a looſe to wantonneſs; and continued that life with ſtill greater licentiouſneſs after ſhe was wife to Tiberius, whom ſhe deſpiſed.

Macrob. Sat. II. 5. *Tac. Ann.* I. 53.

What ſeems to me very remarkable is, that that Princeſs, who gave into the greateſt exceſs of debauchery, was in other reſpects poſſeſſed of amiable qualities: ſhe was graceful, mild, polite, and her mind cultivated by ſtudy and a knowledge of polite literature: advantages deſigned by their nature to help and embelliſh virtue, but too apt to be allurements to vice.

Auguſtus, who was ſo well informed of all that paſſed in the remoteſt corners of the Empire, was a long time ignorant of what was done in his own houſe, and by his own daughter. The company he ſometimes ſaw about her might however have given him ſome ſuſpicion: and it is ſaid, that one day whilſt he was at the theatre, Livia coming in with the graveſt and moſt virtuous perſons of Rome about her, and Julia with a parcel of young fops, the Emperor immediately wrote a word of advice and ſent it his daughter, pointing out the difference between their two trains, and the indecency of her's. Her behaviour, too free and airy, her affectation in dreſs, and her profuſions, greatly diſpleaſed Auguſtus: but a father is apt to flatter himſelf: he could ſuſpect no crime where he ſaw none, and excuſing a gayety he thought innocent, would ſay to his friends, he had two tender daughters to whom he was forced to make ſome allowances, the Republic and Julia.

The

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The guilty Princeſs took care herſelf to open his eyes. Julia, thinking vice loſt its reliſh when not made public, and notoriouſly ſcandalous, carried her licentiouſneſs ſo far as to chuſe the Forum, and Tribune for harangues, for the ſcenes of her nocturnal parties of debauch, and by her unbounded impudence managed ſo that her father was at laſt appriſed of it. A.R. 750. bef. C. 2.

Auguſtus was penetrated with ſhame and grief; and having no longer, as we have already ſaid, neither Agrippa nor Mecænas, whoſe ſalutary counſels might have calmed him, he gave an entire looſe to the ſentiments that overwhelmed him. For ſeveral days he kept cloſe to his palace and would ſee no body. He conſidered whether or no he ſhould put to death ſo criminal a daughter; but at laſt determining to baniſh her, himſelf accuſed her before the Senate, not perſonally indeed, for that he could not have done without bluſhing, but by a memorial which his Quæſtor read in his name and on his behalf. He confines her to the Iſland of Pandataria, and puniſhes her corrupters with death or baniſhment. *Suet. Aug.* 65.

The reſult was, that after declaring her divorced from Tiberius, who readily confirmed it, ſhe was baniſhed to the little Iſle of * Pandataria on the coaſt of Campania: there ſhe was forbid all delicacies in dreſs or food, and even the uſe of wine. No perſon whatever, ſlave or freeman, was allowed to viſit her without Auguſtus's expreſs leave, and a deſcription was ſent him of whoever enquired for her. He did not however refuſe her the comfort of having her mother Scribonia, who went with her to her exile. In every thing elſe Auguſtus was inexorable *Id. Tib.* II.

* *Now called the Iſland of St. Mary.*

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A. R. 750. Inf. C. 2 orable with regard to Julia. The only favour he granted her, after five years, was leave to remove to Rhegum on the continent; but never would think of recalling her. Tiberius begged it by letter; but it was not difficult to refuſe entreaties made more out of form and a kind of decorum, than with a deſire to have them granted. The people preſſed him ſeveral times on that ſubject, and with great earneſtneſs, ſtill to no purpoſe; all the anſwer Auguſtus would give was, to wiſh them wives and daughters like Julia. Being told that a woman who attended his daughter, and had been an inſtrument and accomplice in her miſtreſs's debauches, had hanged herſelf to eſcape puniſhment, he ſaid he had rather be father to Phæbe (that was her name) than to Julia.

This ſeverity was perhaps what gave riſe to a moſt * villainous report, imputing the puniſhment Auguſtus inflicted on his daughter to an abominable and inceſtuous jealouſy: a ſuſpicion that ſtrikes one with horror, and which I mention only to ſhew how far licentious writings and ſcandalous reports will dare to attack even Princes.

It may readily be imagined, that whilſt he uſed his daughter with this ſeverity, he could not be diſpoſed to treat her corrupters with le-
Vell. II. 101. nity. The number of them was great, and included people of all ranks, but particularly ſome of the moſt illuſtrious in Rome: Julus

* *It was in conſequence of that report that Caligula ſaid, his mother Agrippina was born of the inceſt of Auguſtus and Julia. But what head is to be given to what a madman, like Caligula, might ſay?*

Antonius,

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Antonius, ſon of the Triumvir Mark Antony and Fulvia, T. Quintius Criſpinus, who had been Conſul ſome years before, a complete hypocrite, concealing the greateſt vices under an appearance of auſterity, Ap. Claudius, C. Sempronius Gracchus, and Scipio, who it is moſt likely was half brother to Julia. For Scribonia had been married to a Scipio, who was of Conſular dignity before ſhe married Auguſtus. A.R. 758. bef. C. 2.

The moſt guilty in the eyes of the angry Prince was Julus Antonius, ſon of his enemy; indebted to his clemency, not only for life, but for numberleſs favours heaped upon him. Auguſtus had honoured him with the Prieſthood, the Conſulſhip, and in ſhort with his own alliance, by giving him in marriage his niece Marcella, daughter of Octavia. In return for ſo many obligations, Julus was guilty of the blackeſt ingratitude, and was even accuſed of aſpiring to the ſupreme power: If this laſt accuſation eſpecially was well proved, he undoubtedly deſerved the death Auguſtus made him ſuffer. Others of leſs note underwent the ſame puniſhment, but the greateſt part were only baniſhed. Dio.

Velleius exalts on this occaſion the goodneſs and indulgence of Auguſtus: Tacitus on the contrary accuſes him of ſeverity, and ſpeaking very cavalierly of the crime for which they ſuffered; "a common [a] failing, ſays he, was ex- "aggerated by the Prince, and called by the

[a] Culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam, gravi nomine læſarum religionum ac violatæ majeſtatis appellando, clementiam majorum ſuaſque ipſe leges egrediebatur. *Tac. Ann.* III. 24.

"moſt

A.R. 750. Suet. C. 2. "most odious names of sacrilege and high treason, that he might have an opportunity to "deviate from the clemency of our ancestors, "and go beyond the severity of his own "laws." These two judgments, so opposite to each other, are agreeable to the different characters of the two writers, of whom one was a low fawning flatterer, and the other has a manifest spightful turn. To judge impartially, we shall perhaps not find in this case wherein to praise Augustus's clemency, nor wherewith to blame his severity: those whom he punished were highly guilty, nor did he spare them.

Commotions in Armenia. *Usser. Bucher. Belg. Rom. Mem. de Tillem.*

Whilst this was doing in Rome, the disturbances in Armenia, which had been the reason or pretence for ordering Tiberius into the east, encreased daily, and required the Emperor's serious attention. Tiberius, instead of going to Armenia, having retired to Rhodes in the manner I have said, the evil, which he perhaps might have remedied, was grown worse, and threatened an open rupture and war with the Parthians. We have but little knowledge of the cause of those disturbances; what we do know amounts nearly to this,

Tac. Ann. II. 3.

Tigranes, placed on the throne of Armenia by Augustus, in the room of Artaxias, dying soon after, and his children, that is to say his son and daughter, who succeeded him, and married each other, according to the incestuous custom of the eastern people, reigning but a short time, the Roman Emperor again disposed of that crown, and gave it to Artabases or Artavasdes. The Parthians did not like to see a kingdom bordering on their own dependant

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dant on Rome, and they certainly promoted the ſedition that was formed againſt Artabaſes, who was driven out of his kingdom, and the Romans who ſupported him worſted: whilſt the Armenians chuſing another * Tigranes for their king, the Parthians took up arms to maintain him on the throne. A. R. 750. bef. C. 2.

This event made Auguſtus really uneaſy, it being a maxim with him never to diſturb the peace of nations bordering on the Empire, but at the ſame time never to receive an inſult from them, and always to keep a ſuperiority and pre-eminence over them. Provoked by the Parthians, he was under a neceſſity of chaſtiſing their audaciouſneſs: the choice of a General perplexed him. Himſelf upwards of ſixty years old, and for a long time paſt diſuſed to command armies in perſon, he did not ſee among the nobility any one on whom he could rely, ſo far as to truſt him with a power of which it was eaſy to make an ill uſe. He did not chuſe to go out of his own family, and therefore reſolved to ſend his ſon Caius into Armenia with the authority of Pro-conſul: he being then but in his nineteenth year, Auguſtus ſent with him, by way of director, M. Lollius, the ſame whoſe bad ſucceſs in Germany I have ſpoken of, a cunning man, and one who, if he had not military talents, which he does not ſeem to have poſſeſſed to any great degree, had at leaſt the art of pleaſing his maſter, and knew how to deceive by a ſpecious outſide. Caius Cæſar is ſent into the eaſt to appeaſe them.

* *Perhaps a ſon of the firſt Tigranes, dethroned and afterwards recalled by that uneaſy people.*

Caius

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A.R. 750 bef. C. 2. Caius ſet out towards the end of this year, or the beginning of the next: Auguſtus took leave of him with this remarkable expreſſion: "I wiſh you, my ſon, the valour of Scipio, "the love of the people to the degree Pompey "had it, and my fortune." This wiſh was far from being accompliſhed.

Plut. de Fort. Rom.

A.R. 751. bef. C. 1. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Calpurnius Piso.

THERE was no great danger in the expedition Caius was ordered upon. Auguſtus did not deſire war unleſs it became neceſſary, and the Parthians feared it, knowing how unequal their troops were to the Romans.

The Parthians who protected Armenia make their peace.

Phraataces or Phraates then ſat on the throne of the Arſacidæ: he aſcended it by killing his own father, revenging in that manner one parricide by another, and turning againſt old Phraates the example he had ſet him his ſon. The new King of Parthia was not at all alarmed at firſt by the preparations the Romans made againſt him, but on the contrary expreſſed great haughtineſs, whilſt the danger was but at a diſtance. He had wrote Auguſtus a letter, concerning ſome differences between the two Empires, and Auguſtus in his anſwer not giving him the title of king, he replied in the ſame ſtile, calling the Emperor only by his name Cæſar, whilſt he ſtiled himſelf King of Kings. But when he found Caius was come as far as Syria he changed his note, and deſired to know on what terms he could regain his friendſhip.

Whilſt

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Whilſt theſe negociations were carrying on, Caius advanced; and having taken poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip, to which he had been named five years before, he marched againſt the Parthians, traverſing the borders of Arabia. A.R. 751. bef. C. 1.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR. A.R. 752.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. A. C. 1.

CAIUS paſſed the whole year of his Conſulſhip, which was the firſt of the Chriſtian Æra, out of the Empire, making war againſt the Parthians. We have no particular account of this expedition, the exploits of which cannot have been very conſiderable. It ſeems to have been ended by Auguſtus's anſwer to Phraates, wherein he required nothing more than that he ſhould not meddle with the affairs of Armenia. Beſides the diſproportion of forces, the King of Parthia was afraid of his own ſubjects, to whom his cruelties had made him odious: ſo that peace was not only advantageous but neceſſary to him, and he readily ſubmitted to the law Auguſtus preſcribed him.

P. VINICIUS. A.R. 753.
P. ALFÆNUS VARUS. A.C. 2.

UNDER the Conſuls Vinicius and Alfenus peace was entirely concluded between the Romans and Parthians, in a moſt ſolemn manner, by an interview between Phraates and Caius in an Iſland of the Euphrates. After all was ſettled they treated each other, firſt Caius on the Roman ſide, and then Phraates on the Parthian: Interview of the King of Parthia and Caius. *Vell.* II. 101.

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A.R. 753. A.C. 2. Parthian: ſo Velleius ſays, who then ſerved in Caius's army; and by that expreſſion it appears the Euphrates was the boundary of the two Empires, and that things had been brought back to the point where Pompey had fixed them.

Diſgrace and death of Lollius.

The interview I am ſpeaking of was fatal to Lollius. The Parthian King unmaſked him before Caius, and diſcoverd to the young Prince [a] the perfidious counſels of his falſe and treacherous heart. This is all Velleius has been pleaſed to tell us on that ſubject, well known in his time, but which he might foreſee would ſoon be forgot. Perhaps he underſtood by that

Plin. IX. 35. vague expreſſion, Lollius's connexion with all the Kings of the eaſt whom he laid under contributions, and from whom he received immenſe preſents. What we know more is, that he endeavoured to ſet Caius againſt Tiberius.

Suet. Tib. 12. He was a cunning covetous cheat, had made his own family immenſely rich by plunder and extortion, heaping ſhame on himſelf, and bringing the greateſt misfortunes on his own head: for he was diſgraced by Caius, and a few days after died ſo ſuddenly, that there is room to think he deſtroyed himſelf. Pliny ſays poſitively he poiſoned himſelf.

Alfænus's extraordinary fortune, *Hor. Sat.* I. 3. *& ibi vet. Schol. Pompon. de Orig. Jur.*

The fortune of one of the two Conſuls for this year was too extraordinary not to be taken notice of. Alfænus was born at Cremona, of very low extraction; for Horace reproaches him with having been a ſhoemaker. His talents were greatly ſuperior to that ignoble profeſſion. Animated by an inward ſentiment that told him

[a] Perfida, ac plena verſuti & ſubdoli animi conſilia. *Vell.*

he

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he was born for ſomething greater, he threw aſide his paring-knife, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law under the famous Ser. Sulpicius: in this he excelled to ſuch a degree, that he ſoon overcame the obſtacles the obſcurity of his birth threw in his way, and by his merit attained the firſt dignity in the Empire. A.R. 753. A. C. 2.

The Conſuls for the next year were,

L. ÆLIUS LAMIA.
M. SERVILIUS. A.R. 754. A. C. 3.

TIGRANES, who had been ſupported on the throne of Armenia wholly by the help of the Parthians, no ſooner ſaw himſelf forſaken by his protectors, but finding it impoſſible for him alone to reſiſt the Roman power, he had recourſe to entreaties: and as Artabazes, whom he had dethroned, was dead, and there was no other competitor, he thought he might obtain leave to keep the crown. Auguſtus, to whom he made direct application, referred him to Caius. Caius enters Armenia.

The young Prince's determination was not in his favour: it was therefore to be decided by arms, and Caius entered Armenia in a hoſtile manner. He met at firſt with pretty good ſucceſs; but raſhly engaging in a conference with perfidious enemies, he became the victim of his credulity, and received a conſiderable wound, the conſequence of which proved fatal. He performed however the purport of his commiſſion; and in the room of Tigranes, of whom we hear nothing more in hiſtory, He is wounded. *Vell.* II. 102. *Tac. Ann.* II. 4.

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A.R. 754. A. C. 3. made Ariobarzanes, a Mede by origin, King of the Armenians.

Dies. He then returned to the Roman territories, but not in the condition he left them. His wound had affected his mind as well as his body; and out of a capricious humour, which the flatterers about him encouraged, he resolved absolutely to remain in those distant parts, and never to return to Rome. Augustus was obliged to exert all his authority to make him break through that resolution; and Caius at length set out, but died at Limyrum in Lycia the beginning of the next year.

Death of his brother Lucius. His brother Lucius died eighteen months before at Marseilles, as he was going to Spain, with a command of the same nature with that Caius had in the East.

Thus vanished all the expectations Augustus had formed from two young Princes who were to inherit his power and name. With that view he had brought them up with infinite care, taking the trouble to be himself their master in the elements of learning, and the art of writing in abreviations. Above all, he endeavoured to teach them to imitate his hand-writing, intending without doubt to employ them as secretaries in nice and important affairs. He avoided giving them an effeminate or ostentatious education: when they ate with him they did not lie down, but sat at the end of the table. He never lost sight of them: and whenever he travelled, would have them go before him, either in a litter or on horseback. To prevent the pride their birth and the high station for which they were destined might inspire them

Suet. Aug. 64, 65.

History of the Emperors

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I. II. *Ex Museo Florentino.* III. IV V. *Morell's Num. Imp. Rom.*

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Hasting of the Empress

1857

[illegible] Republic has=
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them with, he made them go through a course of instruction in common with other children. Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian, was pitched upon for that purpose; but not to give them private lessons; for his whole school was transferred to the palace, and the Emperor's sons were instructed in common with citizens children. All those cares did not answer Augustus's expectations, as we have seen: yet he was sensibly afflicted at their loss; the more so, as he had then no resource left but Tiberius, whom he did not love, and who was in fact the least amiable of men. A.R. 754. A.C. 3. *Suet. de illust. Gramm.*

An accident so melancholy for Augustus, and so advantageous to Tiberius, made some suspect Livia of having procured by secret means the death of the two Cæsars. I can neither omit mentioning this suspicion, because it is recorded by antiquity; nor affirm it grounded, as we have no proof. *Tac. Ann. 1. 3.*

SEX. ÆLIUS CATUS. A.R. 755.
C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS. A.C. 4.

TIBERIUS was returned to Rome when Caius Cæsar died. The reader may not be displeased to find here some account of his way of life in the isle of Rhodes, and of the manner in which he was recalled.

He led a life there quite agreable to the pretence he had made use of to obtain leave to retire. As he had said he wanted tranquility and repose, he gave himself entirely up to it. He took a small house in the town, and another not much larger in the country. He Tiberius's abode in Rhodes. *Suet. Tib. 11—15.*

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A.R.755. A.C. 4. walked about in their places of exercise, and visited the public schools, without any retinue of lictors or ushers, but like a private man; and behaved to the burghers of Rhodes almost as if they had been his equals.

One day, planning out what he intended to do that day, he said he would see all the sick people of the town. His servants, mistaking his meaning, ordered all the sick to be brought under a portico, and ranged in classes according to their different disorders. Tiberius, whose design was to go from house to house, was greatly surprised to see them all collected together, and sorry for the trouble they had been put to. He visited them all one after another, making many excuses, even to the poorest, and to those he did not know at all.

He never exerted his authority of Tribune but once, and that was on no very important occasion. As he attended constantly the lessons of the professors of eloquence and philosophy, two Rhetors or Sophists happened to have a dispute in his presence, in which he interfered and spoke his mind. The disputant whose opinion he had declared himself against, attacked him roughly and without any respect, telling him he was partial. Tiberius said nothing, but went home, and returning with his lictors, seated himself on the Tribunal, where the petulant Sophist was cited to appear, and was by his order committed to prison.

The five years he was Tribune were spent in this manner: that time expired, he at length owned the real motive of his retreat, giving it however such colours as he thought proper and

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and moſt favourable for him. He declared his design was to prevent all ſuſpicion of any attempt to rival Caius and Lucius Cæſars; adding, that as that danger was now over, thoſe young Princes being grown up, and fit to hold the ſecond rank, which was their right, he deſired leave to return to Rome and to his family, being tired of ſo long an abſence from them. Auguſtus flatly denied his requeſt, at the ſame time exhorting him to forget his family he had been in ſuch a hurry to leave; ſo that Tiberius was forced to ſtay at Rhodes; and all he could obtain through the credit and earneſt ſollicitations of his mother Livia, was to be made Auguſtus's Lieutenant; a title that concealed the ſhame of his involuntary ſtay there. A.R. 755. A.C. 4.

He behaves there in a low and abject manner.

From that time he lived there not only as a private man, but in a much lower and more abject condition. He removed from the ſea-ſide, and went farther up in the country, to avoid being viſited by the magiſtrates and general officers, none of whom paſſed near Rhodes without coming to pay their reſpects to him. His fears were encreaſed by Caius Cæſar's journey to the Eaſt. Tiberius going to the iſle of * Chios to pay his reſpects to him, ſoon found the young Prince had been prejudiced againſt him by Lollius. What is more, he was ſuſpected of having tampered with ſome Centurions that had been long attached to him, and to have endeavoured by their means to create diſſentions among the ſoldiers. Auguſtus wrote to him about it, and Tiberius deſired,

Dio. l. LV. Suet.

* *Suetonius ſays* Samos. *The difference is not important.*

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A.R. 755. A. C. 4. that, for his juſtification, ſomebody, no matter of what rank or condition, might be ſet over him to watch his conduct, and give an account of every ſtep he took. So great were his apprehenſions, that he avoided with the utmoſt ſcruple every thing that could give umbrage, renouncing even the exerciſes of riding and of arms, and putting on a Greek dreſs inſtead of the Toga.

He ſpent near two years in this melancholy ſituation, every day more and more expoſed to hatred and contempt, of which he received ſome proofs from Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, who afterwards had ſufficient reaſon to repent it. The people of Niſmes pulled down his ſtatues; in ſhort, at a feaſt where all were very merry, ſomebody offered to go immediately to Rhodes, if Caius liked it, and bring him back the Exile's head; for ſo Tiberius was called at that court.

With great difficulty he obtains leave to return to Rome.

The danger increaſed, and Tiberius grew more urgent to be recalled: Livia joined with him; but ſtill Auguſtus would not conſent, till he had firſt conſulted his ſon Caius. Luckily for Tiberius, the young Prince was then undeceived with regard to Lollius, and conſequently more favourably diſpoſed towards him: he therefore conſented, and Tiberius had leave to return to Rome, but on this expreſs condition, that he ſhould live there as a private man, and not meddle in any ſhape with what concerned the government.

Appearances, we ſee, were not very brilliant, and by no means promiſed that elevation he ſoon after attained. He returned, however, if we

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we believe Suetonius, full of great hopes, chiefly founded on the predictions of the Aſtrologer Thraſyllus, who had been with him during his abode in Rhodes. Before he would put any confidence in Thraſyllus, he put him to a trial in which ſeveral had miſcarried and fallen victims to: for Tiberius, devoured by ambition in his retirement, and keeping his eye ſtill fixed on the Empire, betwixt which and him he ſaw but two lives, was fond of conſulting thoſe impoſtors that pretend to a knowledge of futurity, and whoſe only ſkill conſiſts in cunning and jugling tricks. Thoſe kind of operations are always done very myſteriouſly; and Tiberius uſed to ſet about it in the following manner: A.R. 755. A. C. 4. His confidence in the Aſtrologer Thraſyllus.

He had a houſe built on a ſteep rock cloſe to the ſea. One of his freemen, the only perſon in the ſecret, an illiterate fellow, but very ſtrong, conducted the Aſtrologer through ſteep and difficult paths to a centry-box quite on the top of the houſe: and if Tiberius ſuſpected fraud or falſity in what the conjurer had told him, his freeman threw him into the ſea that beat againſt the rocks, by that means burying him and his maſter's ſecrets together. *Tac. Ann.* VI. 21.

Thraſyllus being conducted to this place, had the good fortune to pleaſe Tiberius, by promiſing him the Empire, and by the ingenious turn he gave every thing he ſaid. Tiberius, ſtruck with it, aſked him whether he could draw his own horoſcope; and if, by comparing the time of his birth with the preſent ſtate of the heavens, he could tell what he was at that inſtant to fear or hope for. The Aſtrologer, without doubt appriſed of the fate of his pre-

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A.R. 755. A.C. 4. deceſſors, looks at the ſtars, and ſhudders: the more he conſiders them the more he trembles, and at length cries out he is threatened with a great and imminent peril. Tiberius, convinced of his ſkill by this experiment, which appeared to him beyond all equivocation, embraced and comforted him, and from that hour made him one of his moſt intimate friends. Nay, not ſatisfied with conſulting him, and liſtening with docility and confidence to his anſwers, which he thought oracles, he reſolved to learn that fine ſcience himſelf. He had all the leiſure he could wiſh at Rhodes to receive leſſons from Thraſyllus, and profited by them ſo far as to paſs for having foretold things verified by the event.

At Rome he lives like a private man. *Suet.*

On his return to Rome, he gave his ſon Druſus the virile robe, and the houſe he lived in, formerly Pompey's, and went himſelf to live at Mecænas's houſe in the Eſquiliæ. There he remained quiet and without employment till the death of Caius, not meddling in any public affairs, but behaving quite like a private man.

Tillemont. Aug. c. 12.

This obſcure inactivity laſted near two years longer. He returned to Rome in the month of July of the year in which Vinicius and Alfænus were Conſuls. Caius Cæſar died the twenty-firſt of February in the year we are now treating of, and the twenty-ſeventh of June following Tiberius was adopted by Auguſtus.

He is adopted by Auguſtus, who thinks he makes a good choice.

In adopting him, Auguſtus ſolemnly declared the good and ſervice of the Republic were the motives that induced him to take that ſtep; and there was a great deal of truth in that declaration, ſo honourble to Tiberius.

Auguſtus

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Auguſtus found he had a capacity for war, re- A.R. 755
ſolution to maintain proper diſcipline, great A. C. 4.
penetration, and the talent of knowing men, *Vell.* II. 104.
and what they were fit for. Theſe were great *Suet. Tib.* 21.
parts, and ſeemed to promiſe happineſs to the ſtate under the government of ſuch a Prince.

I therefore think the report then ſpread, of Auguſtus's chuſing him for his ſucceſſor, that he himſelf might be the more regretted, muſt be looked upon as a ſenſeleſs calumny. In *Tac. Ann.* I. 10. the firſt place, Auguſtus's government, to be *Suet. ibid.* eſteemed and loved, did not want to be compared with that of a bad Prince. But, what is more, it is clear from facts that Auguſtus did not think of Tiberius 'till he had no other reſource left. Marcellus, Agrippa, the two Cæſars his ſons by adoption, were all dead. He cannot therefore, properly ſpeaking, be ſaid to have choſen him, but rather to have received him as it were from the hand of chance; nor did he think he received a bad preſent.

Not but that he perceived, through all his good qualities, bad ones that ſhocked him: a ſavage roughneſs ſo diſpleaſing, that if Tiberius chanced to come in whilſt he was talking of any thing gay or merry, he immediately changed the ſubject: a dull ſlowneſs, that affected even his ſpeech, and made it heavy; which made Auguſtus ſay one day, [a] "How "I pity the fate of the Roman people, that "they muſt fall under this heavy jaw-bone!" Above all, his diſſimulation was ſo profound, that there was room to fear the virtues Tibe-

[a] Miſerum populum Romanum, qui ſub tam lentis maxillis erit! *Suet.*

rius

A.R. 755. A. C. 4. rius ſhewed were but vices maſked. Auguſtus was ſo ſenſible of theſe defects, that he hinted at them in the Senate, when he deſired the power of Tribune for Tiberius, ſoon after he had adopted him. In the [a] diſcourſe he read, as uſual with him, he dropped ſome ambiguous words concerning certain ſingularities in Tiberius's appearance and conduct, and made ſuch malicious excuſes for them, as really amounted to reproaches. In his will, he ſaid, [b] he had adopted Tiberius, becauſe cruel fate had robbed him of his ſons Caius and Lucius Cæſars; which was ſaying pretty plainly, he took him for want of a better. In ſhort, it is aſſured that, before he came to that reſolution, he had caſt his eye on Germanicus, ſon of Druſus, and grandſon to his ſiſter Octavia; a youth of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, eſteemed and beloved by the whole nation. But beſides that Livia, who had very great influence over him, diſſuaded him from it, it muſt be granted it would have been hard to prefer the nephew, ſon of a younger branch, before the uncle who was the elder branch of the family; and a young man of nineteen, before a man of ripe years, who had given proofs of his capacity in commands of great importance.

Tac. Ann. IV. 57.

From all this I think it reſults, that Auguſtus thought he could not do better, as things were circumſtanced, than to make Tiberius

[a] Quædam de habitu cultuque & inſtitutis ejus jecerat, quæ velut excuſando exprobraret. *Tac. Ann.* I. 10.

[b] Quoniam iniſtra fortuna Caium & Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Cæſar mihi ex parte dimidia & ſextante hæres eſto. *Suet. Tib.* 23.

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berius his ſucceſſor; and not being able to find what he would have wiſhed for, was content to do as well as he could. It may even be ſaid, that as long as he lived, he had reaſon to applaud his choice; and that his regard for Tiberius, which for a long time had not been without a mixture of antipathy, grew ſtronger and more ſincere, in proportion as he found him anſwer his intentions. A. R. 753. A. C. 4.

In his private life, Tiberius behaved with the greateſt modeſty: from the time of his adoption he was, as the ſon of a family, ſubmiſſive to paternal authority; ſo that conſidering himſelf as proprietor of nothing, he made no gifts, freed no ſlaves, and if any legacy was left, or inheritance fell to him, he did not receive it but with Auguſtus's leave, which he firſt aſked. In public employments we ſhall ſee him become really the ſupport of the Empire. *Suet. Tib.* 15.

Auguſtus, however, in adopting him, did not intend all his hopes ſhould center there. At the ſame time he adopted Agrippa Poſthumus, the laſt of his grand-children; and tho' Tiberius had a ſon, as I have ſaid, already come to man's eſtate, the Emperor obliged him to adopt his nephew Germanicus. Thus Auguſtus's ſucceſſion was well eſtabliſhed on many props. Auguſtus adopts at the ſame time Agrippa Poſthumus, and makes Tiberius adopt Germanicus. *Suet. Aug.* 65. & *Tib.* 15.

As to Tiberius, nothing could give him umbrage but Agrippa's adoption: for Germanicus, by becoming his ſon, had no right to the Empire till after him. This only rival, Agrippa Poſthumus, ſoon took care to deliver Tiberius from all uneaſineſs. He was of a fierce ſavage diſpoſition; his only merit was great Abdication and exile of Agrippa Poſthumus. *Tac. Ann.* I. 3. *Suet. Aug.* 65, 66.

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A. R. 755. A. C. 4. great ſtrength of body, which he exerted brutally: no elevation of mind, no dignity of ſentiments; no taſte for any polite qualification: fiſhing was his chief occupation, and he prided himſelf ſo much on that exerciſe, that he gave himſelf the name of Neptune. Indiſcreet and raſh to exceſs, he railed againſt Livia, accuſing her of want of natural affection towards him: he attacked the Emperor himſelf, as having wronged him of his father's inheritance. Auguſtus, aſhamed to have a ſon and heir ſo little worthy him, and ſoured by Livia's complaints, annulled his adoption of Agrippa, and baniſhed him to Sorrento on the coaſt of Campania. This puniſhment, inſtead of making the young Prince more mild and tractable, only increaſed his fury; which made Auguſtus reſolve to ſend him to the iſle of Planaſia,* where he was kept cloſe priſoner. He even had him baniſhed in form by a decree of the Senate, to cut off all hopes of return.

Dio.

* *Now* Pianoſa, *on the ſouth of the iſle of the Elbe.*

Looſe conduct of Julia, Auguſtus's grand-daughter, and her baniſhment.

Agrippa Poſthumus's bad diſpoſition was one of the greateſt griefs Auguſtus ever felt: and to ſum up here what relates to his domeſtic misfortunes, I ſhall add that Julia, the eldeſt of his grand-daughters, married to L. Paulus, copied her mother's lewdneſs, and forced her grand-father to treat her with the ſame rigour. He baniſhed her to the iſle of Trimetum †, not far from the coaſt of Apulia, and forbid bringing up the ſon ſhe was delivered of after her condemnation, thinking it ſpurious.

† Tremiti, *in the Gulph of Venice. Tac. Ann.* IV. 71. *Suet.*

The two Julias and Agrippa Poſthumus embittered all the happineſs of Auguſtus: he uſed to call them his three *cankers*, his three *abſceſſes*: he

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he never heard them named but he ſighed, and often applied to them a line of Homer, [a] the ſenſe of which is, "Would to heaven I had "never married, but had died without po- "ſterity!" A.R. 755. A. C. 4.

L. Paulus, Julia's huſband, likewiſe added to Auguſtus's cares and alarms, if it be true, as Suetonius ſays it is, that he formed a conſpiracy againſt his Prince, to whom he was ſo nearly allied. *Suet. Aug.* 19.

But to return to Tiberius, for whoſe elevation and greatneſs Auguſtus ſpared nothing, after he had once adopted him. He immediately made the Senate give him the power of Tribune. Tiberius had already been inveſted with that title, which was one of the chief characteriſtics of the Imperial dignity; but he had not made much uſe of it; and at the expiration of the term for which it had been given him, ſunk back not only to the condition of a private man, but into a kind of annihilation. He now recovered that eminent title, never more to loſe it, and immediately after was ſent into Germany, where the war had broke out again. But that I ſhall reſerve to ſpeak of in the next Book. Tiberius again receives the power of Tribune. *Suet. Tib.* 15.

Auguſtus, who this year was a fifth time prorogued in the command in chief of the armies and government of the provinces in his department, continued his labours to ſettle the civil government of the Republic on a proper footing at home. He again reviewed the Senate, New review of the Senate. The inhabitants of Italy numbered. *Dio. l.* LV.

[a] Αἰϑ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι, ἀγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι. *Hom. Il.* III. 40. *Homer makes Hector uſe this exclamation, ſpeaking of Paris.*

nate,

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A.R. 755. A.C. 4. nate, to which end he chose three of the most illustrious members of that body, with the title of Inquisitors or Examiners: and on that occasion again exerted his usual liberality, both to keep, and to bring into the Senate, such as by their birth ought to be there, but who were excluded as not being rich enough. He likewise numbered the inhabitants of Italy, reckoning only such as were worth the value of two hundred thousand sesterces (£. 1600 of our money) and upwards, being willing to save the poor the trouble of a declaration of what they possessed, which could be of no use to the state. Dion Cassius mentions another regulation of Augustus relating to freedoms, a thing of great consequence in the Roman Republic, where slaves made free by Romans acquired the privileges of citizens. That law fixed the age slaves were to be of, to be made free; and their masters, before they could set them at liberty. It contained also some other regulations which that historian mentions but in a vague manner.

Augustus pardons Cinna. *Dio. & Sen. de Clem. l. 9.*

But of all the occurrences of this year, the most glorious for Augustus was the pardon he granted Cinna. This action has been greatly celebrated, and is the subject of one of the finest Tragedies the French can boast of. I shall relate it in Seneca's words.

Cinna, grandson to Pompey, but a man of small merit, was accused before Augustus of being chief of a conspiracy formed against him. One of the accomplices was the informer, who specified the time, the place, and measures taken to kill the Emperor, whilst he should be offering

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offering up a ſacrifice; ſo that the crime was proved beyond all doubt. Auguſtus reſolved to do juſtice on the perfidious Cinna, and to that purpoſe called a council of his friends the next day. A.R. 755. A. C. 4.

The night that intervened brought with it reflections that threw him into a violent agitation, for he could not without a kind of horror think on the neceſſity of condemning a citizen of the firſt rank, and who, till that time, had been without blame. He could [a] no longer reſolve to order the death of a criminal; he, who formerly at ſupper with Antony had dictated the Edict of Proſcription. With repeated ſighs he talked to himſelf, venting the different thoughts that agitated his mind, and combated each other. "What then, ſaid he ſometimes, "ſhall I let my aſſaſſin live eaſy and quiet, and "take all the grief to myſelf? After ſo many "civil wars have reſpected my days, after "eſcaping ſo many dangers in battle by land "and ſea, a traitor would butcher me at the foot "of the altars; and ſhall I not make him ſuffer "the puniſhment he ſo juſtly deſerves?"

There he would ſtop; and after a ſhort pauſe again would break out, examining and judging himſelf with more ſeverity than he did Cinna. "If thy death, ſaid he with indignation to "himſelf, be the object of ſo many citizens "vows, art thou fit to live? When will there "be an end of puniſhments? When wilt thou "have done ſhedding blood? Thy head ſtands

[a] Jam unum hominem occidere non poterat: cum M. Antonio proſcriptionis edictum inter cœnam dictarat.

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A.R. 755. A. C. 4. "expoſed as a mark to the young nobility, to "immortaliſe themſelves by killing thee. No, "life is not worth preſerving at that price, if "ſo many others muſt periſh to ſave thee."

Livia overheard all he ſaid, and ſaw his agitation: at length interrupting him, "Will "you, ſaid ſhe, hear a woman's advice? Imi- "tate the phyſicians, who, when the uſual re- "medies do not ſucceed, try their contraries. "Hitherto you have gained nothing by ſeve- "rity. A conſpiracy puniſhed has only pro- "duced a new one. Salvidianus was followed "by young Lepidus, Lepidus by Muræna and "Cæpio, and they again by Egnatius: I could "name more. Try now what clemency will "do. Pardon Cinna. His deſign is diſcovered; "[b] he can no longer hurt you: and your le- "nity to him may be of ſervice to your re- "putation."

Auguſtus was highly pleaſed to find one that helped and encouraged him to take a reſolution his inclination already led him to. He thanked Livia, ſent his friends word not to come, and taking Cinna alone, ordered every body out of the room; then bidding him ſit down, ſpoke to him thus: "I deſire, in the firſt place, you "will not interrupt me in what I am going to "ſay; that you will hear me out, before you "attempt to anſwer: when I have done, you "ſhall be at liberty to reply, I found you, "Cinna, in my enemy's camp: your very en- "gagements againſt me were not the effect of "a choice that might change, but the conſe-

[b] Jam nocere ne poteſt; prodeſſe famæ tuæ poteſt.

"quence

" quence of your birth. Under thoſe circum- A.R. 755.
" ſtances I ſpared your life: I reſtored you your A. C. 4.
" patrimony. You are now in ſo rich, ſo
" flouriſhing a ſituation, that even conquerors
" envy the condition of the conquered. You
" deſired to be made a Prieſt: I made you
" one, preferring you to competitors whoſe fa-
" thers fought for me: and yet after heaping on
" you ſo many favours, you would aſſaſſinate
" me."

Cinna, at that word, exclaimed ſuch madneſs had never entered his thoughts. " You " do not keep your word, ſaid Auguſtus; our " agreement was, you ſhould not interrupt me. " Yes, Cinna, I again ſay you would aſſaſſinate " me." He then proceeded to relate all the circumſtances, all the preparatives, named his accomplices, and particularly him that was to ſtrike the firſt blow: then, perceiving Cinna was ſilent, not in virtue of their convention, but through ſurpriſe, terror, and the reproaches of his own conſcience, he added, " What mo- " tive could induce you to form ſuch a deſign? " Is it that you want my place? The Roman " people are indeed greatly to be pitied, if I " am the only bar that prevents your reigning " over them: you, who cannot govern your " own houſe; who but lately were worſted by " the credit of a freeman, in an affair you had " at heart; you, who find nothing eaſy, unleſs " it be to form conſpiracies againſt your Prince " and benefactor. Let us ſee, let us examine, " whether I am in fact the only one that " curbs your ambitious projects? Think you " a Paulus, a Fabius Maximus, a Coſſus, a

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A.R.753. A.C. 4. "Servilius, and so many other nobles, who do "not deck themselves out with empty titles, "but return their ancestors the honour they "received from them; think you they will "ever be brought to submit to your rule?"

Augustus continued speaking to him in this manner upwards of two hours, purposely prolonging the only revenge he intended to take on the criminal: he concluded with saying, "a [a] second time, Cinna, I give you your life: "I spared you though you was my enemy: I "now forgive you, though to that name you "have added those of traitor and parricide. "Let us from this day begin to be sincerely "friends. Let us vie with each other; I, to "support the good I have done you; you, to "make a suitable return: Let us try to make "it a doubt, whether I am most generous, or "you most grateful."

To this noble language he added deeds: the next year he made Cinna Consul, obligingly complaining he had been too timid in not asking it. Cinna, on his side, gave proofs of his sensibility, and of a good heart. He became a faithful friend to the Prince to whom he twice owed his life, and dying made Augustus his sole heir. That was not the only, nor the greatest advantage Augustus reaped from his clemency on that occasion; he so effectually gained the heart of every one by it, that no conspiracy was ever more attempted against him,

[a] Vitam tibi, Cinna, iterum do, prius hosti, nunc insidiatori & parricidæ. Ex hodierno die inter nos amicitia incipiat: offendamus utrum ego meliore fide vitam tibi dederim, an tu debeas.

Before

Before I enter upon the wars which Tiberius carried on with great glory and ſucceſs in Germany and Pannonia, I ſhall mention here ſome things, which, as they have no connection with them, would only interrupt the thread of my narration, the more diſagreeably, as, for want of materials, it will be but ſuccinct.

Under the year of Rome 756 Dion Caſſius mentions violent earthquakes; an inundation of the Tiber, which broke down a bridge, and overflowed the city, ſo that boats ſailed thro' the ſtreets for ſeven days; an eclipſe of the ſun, and the beginning of a famine that laſted all the next year, and was very great, as may be judged by the extraordinary precautions taken on that account: for the gladiators, the ſlaves that were brought thither from all parts for ſale, and all ſtrangers, phyſicians and profeſſors of the polite arts excepted, were removed eighty miles diſtant from Rome. Auguſtus and moſt of the nobility, ſent part of their ſervants and attendants to their country ſeats. The Senators had leave to be abſent, and go where they pleaſed: and that the courſe of buſineſs might not be interrupted by the ſmallneſs of the number to which the Senate probably was reduced, it was agreed that ſuch as did meet ſhould have the ſame power as the whole body, and might, though a leſs number than the laws directed, form a committee and enact laws. Auguſtus appointed perſons who had gone through the office of Conſul, to be inſpectors over corn and bread, and ſettle their prices. He doubled the diſtributions he uſed to make regularly to two hundred thouſand citizens; and, to prevent a uſeleſs

Dio.

Famine in Rome.

Suet. Aug. 42.

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uſeleſs conſumation, forbid their keeping his birth-day with public rejoicings and feſtivals, as had been cuſtomary to do. The evil muſt have been great to require ſuch remedies. *Lapis Ancyr. Dio.*

Daughters of freemen declared capable of being choſen Veſtals.

Though the Veſtals were but ſix in number, it had for ſome time paſt been difficult to make up even that. Fathers did not chuſe to engage their daughters in a forced ſtate of virginity, attended with ſuch dreadful puniſhment, if violated. Auguſtus, who was ſtrongly attached to ancient cuſtoms, and eſpecially in religious matters, was concerned to ſee the Veſtal order fall into diſrepute; and one day proteſted with an oath, that if any one of his grand-daughters had been of a proper age (for no Veſtals were received under ſix, nor above ten years old) he would have offered her with pleaſure. Julia would have made an odd Veſtal. As the Emperor's repreſentations on that head did not alter the ways of thinking of fathers of children, it was thought neceſſary to enact, in this ſame year 756, that daughters of freemen might be admitted into that order, which hitherto had been filled only by perſons of the greateſt nobility.

Divers commotions.

There were at that time divers warlike commotions in ſeveral parts of the Empire. Not only the Germans, as I have ſaid, had taken up arms again, but Sardinia was infeſted with incurſions of robbers. The Iſauri, a mountainous people, accuſtomed to rapine and plunder, diſturbed their neighbours, and it was neceſſary to ſend troops to ſubdue and keep them in order: the Getuli, endeavouring to make themſelves independant of King Juba, raiſed

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a war in form, in which Cossus Cornelius Lentulus merited the honours of triumph, and the surname of Getulicus.

Rewards for officers and soldiers increased: as likewise their time of service.

The soldiers, knowing there was no doing without them under these circumstances, took advantage of the opportunity to make their condition better. They complained of the smallness of the rewards that were given them; for instead of the * lands their Generals used formerly to allot them to settle on, it had been enacted seventeen years before, that when their time of service was expired, which was twelve years for the Prætorian guards, and sixteen for soldiers of the Legions, they should have a sum of money; nor was that considerable. This regulation was highly pleasing to the people, because it freed them from all apprehensions of those cruel and tyrannical distributions of lands, which had occasioned so many disturbances in Italy. The troops were at first pretty well satisfied with it, but at the time I am speaking of murmured greatly; so much that Augustus thought it deserving his attention, and that it was proper to satisfy them to a certain degree. He increased the gratification that was allowed them, making it † twenty thousand sesterces for the soldiers of the Prætorian Guards, and ‡ twelve thousand for those of the Legions. But then he prolonged their

† £. 160.

‡ £. 96.

* *Tacitus speaks, however, of those distributions of lands, (An. I. 17.) as still in use under Tiberius. This contradiction between Tacitus and Dion Cassius, has been taken notice of by Lipsius.* (Excurs. C. in Tac. I.) *who has not undertaken to reconcile them. What a man of his learning could not do, I shall not attempt.*

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time of ſervice too, fixing that at ſixteen years for the Prætorians, and twenty for the others.

Number of troops maintained by Auguſtus. *Dio. l.* LV. *Tac. Ann.* IV. 5.

This was an immenſe expence that Auguſtus undertook: and that the reader may be able to form ſome idea of it, it may be proper to let him ſee how many troops he maintained in time of peace. Twenty-three, and ſometimes twenty-five Legions, and about the ſame number of auxiliary troops, foreigners, that is to ſay, ſoldiers who were not Roman citizens: ten Prætorian cohorts, making ten thouſand men; ſix thouſand men, in three cohorts, to guard the city: a body of Batavian horſe, then in great repute: Thoſe they called *Evocati*, that is to ſay, old ſoldiers, ſtill vigorous and fond of their trade, remained in the ſervice with diſtinguiſhing privileges: beſides all this, two fleets, one at Miſenum, the other at Ravenna. The pay of all theſe different troops could not but amount to a vaſt ſum. We know the pay of every ſoldier of the Legions was ten * Aſs a day, and the Prætorians two † denarii. Add to this the recompences we have juſt ſpoken of. To anſwer theſe expences, Auguſtus reſolved to appropriate a fund for the troops, or, which is the ſame thing, to eſtabliſh a military cheſt, or treaſury.

Tac. Ann. I. 17.

Military treaſury eſtabliſhed. *Dio.*

He carried this ſcheme into execution with his wonted prudence and circumſpection. He repreſented to the Senate the neceſſities of the

* *About eight-pence.*

† *About ſixteen-pence, if it was the full denarius of ten Aſs.*

ſtate,

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ſtate, and of a ſettled fund to pay and reward the troops. He declared he would make the firſt advances, and in effect gave in his own name, and in Tiberius's, large ſums, which were the firſt fund of the military cheſt he was forming. He received likewiſe for the ſame uſe free gifts from Kings and nations their allies; but would take none from private Romans, intending to lay a tax on them for that purpoſe, which made him think it would not look ſo well to receive voluntary contributions firſt, and afterwards make them pay again. He named three adminiſtrators or treaſurers for this fund: they were choſen among the antient Prætors, and were to be three years in office.

The eſtabliſhment being made, it was neceſſary to ſupport it too: a continual expence plainly required a fund in proportion. Auguſtus deſired the Senators would each of them think of the means leaſt burthenſome to the public, and bring him their plans to examine. He had already reſolved what to do, but was deſirous to bring them into it by gentle methods. When their ſchemes were brought him, he pointed out inconveniencies in each, and ſaid he would keep to that he had found among his father Cæſar's papers, which was to take the twentieth part of all collateral inheritances and legacies that were not left to near relations or poor. This was no more than reviving an old cuſtom that had been diſuſed: the thing paſſed, though not without ſome murmuring among the people, who ſuffering already by the

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ſcarcity of all proviſions, thought this new impoſt very hard.

Anger of the mob appeaſed by the return of plenty.

The mob, angry for the reaſons I have mentioned, ſeemed to threaten ſome diſturbance. They talked loudly againſt the government, and ſeditious writings were diſperſed thro' the city, and poſted up in the night. All this uproar ceaſed with the ſcarcity, the real cauſe of it; and plenty no ſooner returned to Rome, but calm and tranquility immediately followed.

And by the honours paid to the memory of Druſus.

The honours at the ſame time paid to the memory of Druſus, extremely beloved by the people, likewiſe helped to pacify them. Germanicus and Claudius, both ſons of Druſus, gave combats of gladiators in honour of their father: and Tiberius having dedicated a temple to Caſtor and Pollux, inſcribed his brother's name with his own on the frontiſpiece.

Death of Pollio. Particularities relating to him. *Euſeb. Chron.*

About this time died at his country houſe at Tuſculum the celebrated Pollio, aged eighty. He lived in a quite private manner from the time that, tired with the licentious follies and arrogance of Cleopatra, he had detached himſelf from Antony; would take no part in the war between Antony and Octavius, as I have before ſaid; and when that was ended, Auguſtus, ſole maſter of the Empire, did not chuſe to employ Pollio much, eſteeming him more than he loved him, on account of his pride and haughtineſs of temper. He had wrote ſome ſatirical lines againſt him in his youth, but Pollio was wiſe enough not to anſwer them, ſaying, [a] "he would not write againſt a man

[a] At ego taceo: non eſt enim facile in eum ſcribere, qui poteſt proſcribere. *Macrob. Sat.* II. 4.

"that

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"that could proſcribe." But he never could ſtoop low enough to be a courtier: all his actions ſavoured of the old Republican liberty; and the two Seneca's have recorded things of him very ſingular, and which give us room to admire Auguſtus's patience and moderation.

Timagenes, a celebrated Rhetorician, had gained the Emperor's friendſhip by the agreeableneſs of his converſation, but knew not how to preſerve it: he had the dangerous knack of back-biting with a great deal of wit, and diſplayed that talent at the expence of Auguſtus, Livia, and the whole family of the Cæſars. Witticiſms that attack the great are never loſt: the air of liberty and boldneſs they are ſpoken with ſtamps a value on them, and makes them run from mouth to mouth. Auguſtus, angry at the liberty he had taken, forbid Timagenes the entrance of his palace. That man, ſprung from nothing, and who had been a ſlave a long time, had the inſolence to brave the Emperor: [a] he affected to put himſelf as it were on a level with him, and returning enmity for enmity, threw into the fire the hiſtory he had wrote of that Prince, as if to revenge himſelf for Auguſtus's refuſing to admit him into his palace, by depriving him of the fruits of his pen and parts. *Sen. de Ira, III. 23. & Controv. V. 34.*

Notwithſtanding this diſgrace, Timagenes was not the leſs well received in any houſe in

[a] Uſque eo utramque fortunam contempſit, & in qua erat, & in qua fuerat, ut quum illi multis de cauſis iratus Cæſar interdixiſſet domo ſuâ, combureret hiſtorias rerum ab illo geſtarum, quaſi & ipſe illi ingenio ſuo interdiceret. *Sen. Controv.* V. 34.

Rome:

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Rome: but Pollio diſtinguiſhed himſelf by giving him a lodging in his; which was the more remarkable in him, as he had till then deſpiſed that backbiting Sophiſt; ſo that Auguſtus's diſlike ſeemed to have given birth to Pollio's regard for him. The Prince took very patiently both Timagenes's inſolence and Pollio's wrong-headedneſs; only one day he ſaid to the latter, "you keep a wild beaſt in "your houſe." Pollio was going to excuſe himſelf; but Auguſtus interrupting him, "Enjoy, ſaid he, my dear Pollio, enjoy the ſweets "of ſuch a gueſt." And on Pollio's offering to turn him out, if the Emperor deſired it, "How ſhould I deſire it, ſaid Auguſtus, when "'twas I that made you friends?" An expreſſion full of ſmartneſs and of mildneſs at the ſame time; by which Auguſtus ſhewed he was ſenſible how much Pollio was in the wrong, but that he excuſed it.

Sen. Excerpt. Controv. l. IV. Pollio was the ſame in all his actions. Auguſtus hearing he had given a great entertainment whilſt the news of Caius Cæſar's death was quite recent, wrote to him, complaining of it, in a friendly manner. "You know, ſaid he, how "much I love you; I wonder you ſhould be "ſo little concerned at my affliction?" Pollio anſwered him, "I ſupped in company the very "day I loſt my ſon Horius. Has any one a "right to require greater grief from a friend "than from a father?"

What he ſaid was true: his ſtrength and courage of mind reſiſted every blow of fate. Four days after the death of his ſon he pronounced a declamation according to his uſual cuſtom,

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cuſtom, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. It was obſerved that his voice and action were more animated than uſual. One might * perceive how he ſtruggled to ſurmount a ſentiment that touched his very ſoul, but of which he got the better.

Such ſtrength of mind is undoubtedly laudable: but the ſeverity and height he carried it to on ſome occaſions, had need to be compenſated by the great talents he was maſter of in other reſpects. He was a good warrior, and had merited triumphal honours. Horace calls him the oracle of the Senate. As to learning and the polite arts, he was thoroughly verſed in them, and excelled, as I have ſaid elſewhere, in every branch, eloquence, poetry and hiſtory. But he ſhone moſt as an orator, and has been ranked among the beſt models that are to be found of true Latin eloquence. *Hor. Od. II. 1.*

He ſtudied it cloſely: declaimed often: nay, he was the firſt that brought up the cuſtom of declaiming publicly before an audience. He obſerved however on thoſe occaſions the dignity of his rank, and leaving to rhetoricians by profeſſion the ſhew of a crowd of people of all ſorts to hear their ſpeeches, he invited only a few friends to his. *Sen. Exhort. Controv. l. IV.*

Seneca the elder accuſes him of being jealous of Cicero's reputation, and maliciouſly inclined to depreciate him. Yet Pollio did him juſtice in his hiſtories, of which Seneca himſelf has preſerved a fragment that does honour to *Sen. Suaſor. VII.*

* *Ut appareret hominis naturam contumacem cum fortuna ſua rixari.*

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the memory of that great man. 'Tis true he did not like to hear the merit of other orators leſſened to add to Cicero's; and ſo far he was right. One Sextilius Hæna reading at Meſſala's houſe a poem he had wrote on Cicero's death, beginning with this line:

Deflendus Cicero eſt, Latiæque ſilentia linguæ.

"Let us mourn the death of Cicero, and the "ſilence it impoſes on Latin eloquence." Pollio, who was preſent, ſtarting up, and addreſſing himſelf to Meſſala, a no leſs celebrated orator than himſelf, "You may do, ſaid he, "as you pleaſe in your own houſe: but for "my part I ſhall not ſtay to hear a man that "ſays I am dumb;" and immediately went away.

Sen. de Tranquil. animi, c. ult.

It has been remarked that Pollio never ſtudied after the tenth hour of the day. Nothing could detain him after that time: He would not even read any letters that were brought him, for fear of finding ſomething to ſet his mind to work. The two hours that remained before ſun-ſet, and the reſt of the evening, were fixed and invariably ſettled, to unbend his mind from the fatigues of the day.

Aſinius Gallus his ſons Tac. Ann. I. 12.

He left an illuſtrious ſon, Aſinius Gallus, whoſe eloquence and ſplendor of life was anſwerable to his father's, whoſe high ſpirit he likewiſe inherited. He was Conſul in the year of Rome 744. He married Vipſania, repudiated by Tiberius, ſo that his ſons were brothers to that Emperor's ſon. This alliance proved no protection to him, but was rather one

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one of the reaſons why Tiberius hated him; to which hatred he at length fell a victim, as we ſhall ſay in its proper place.

A daughter of Pollio's had a ſon called Marcellus Æſerninus, whom he took great pleaſure in bringing up, finding in him ſuch a turn for eloquence, that he looked on him as his heir in that reſpect. Antiquity does not afford a finer example of paternal care in the education of a child. Pollio ſet his grandſon themes for declamation: and when his diſcourſe was finiſhed, the youth recited it to his grandfather, who would correct the work with as much care as a good profeſſor of rhetoric could do, pointing out where he had omitted any thing, and ſupplying the deficiency: telling him what was faulty, and correcting it. He would then plead himſelf the cauſe of the adverſe party. Pollio's cares were not thrown away, for Marcellus Æſerninus was * reckoned among the good orators. But he can hardly have lived long, ſince his name is not mentioned in the Conſular annals, nor does hiſtory ſay much of him.

The pains he took to form his grandſon Marcellus Æſerninus for eloquence. *Sen. Rhetor. Controv. l. IV.*

* *See l. V. of this work.*

Meſſala, of whom I have juſt ſpoken, did not long ſurvive Pollio. He was of a very different character, as mild and amiable, as the other was hot and violent. The ſweetneſs of Meſſala's temper influenced even his ſtile, which had more of grace than energy in it. He is likewiſe reckoned among the beſt Latin orators. But that great genius, cultivated and adorned by vaſt acquired knowledge, ſuffered a decay very humiliating to human nature. He had always been of a very tender conſtitution, but his memory failed him entirely two years before

Death of Meſſala. *Euſeb. Chron. Quintil. X. I.*

Plin. l. VII. c. 24.

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before his death, so that he could not form a connected phrase, nor at last remember even his own name. The talents of the mind are no more ours, than bodily health, or the gifts of fortune: all equally depend on the supreme will.

His two sons. *Ovid de Ponto*, IV. 16. *Plin.* X. 22.

I find Messala left two sons, both named Messalinus. The first was Consul in the year 749, the other, who to his own name added that of Cotta, taken from his mother's ancestors, is often mentioned by Tacitus: unworthy son of a good father; a low flatterer of the great and powerful, and a cruel oppressor of the weak; plunged in debauchery, and whose life affords nothing memorable, unless it be the invention of a new ragout, with which he enriched the Roman cookery.

Archelaus, son of Herod, is deposed, and Judea becomes a Roman province. *Joseph. Antiq. l.* XVII. *& de B. Jud.* II.

I shall conclude this book with an event relating to Judea, but interesting to us on account of its connection with the history of our religion. Archelaus, son of Herod, seems to have had all his father's vices, without any of his great qualities. Immediately after Herod's death he shewed his disposition to cruelty and tyranny, and forced the Jews to complain against him, and desire Augustus would not leave them under a master justly odious to them, but take them under the immediate protection of the Roman Empire. Augustus paid little regard to their request at that time; but confirming Herod's will, gave Archelaus Judea and Samaria in consequence of it; tho' only with the title of Ethnarch, as I before observed; leaving him in hopes of having that of king, in case he governed well.

Archelaus

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Archelaus was of a violent temper, and the Jews were uneaſy and turbulent. After nine years their complaints were renewed and laid before Auguſtus, on whom they made a greater impreſſion that time. The Emperor, without vouchſafing to write to Archelaus, ordered the Jewiſh agent at his court to go to Judea, and bring his maſter to Rome. Archelaus was indulging himſelf at table when his agent brought the ſevere and unexpected order, which he was forced to obey immediately. The accuſers and accuſed were heard, and Archelaus was *Dio.* condemned, his government taken from him, and himſelf baniſhed to Vienna on the Rhone. Judea and Samaria by that means became immediately dependant on the Romans, and were from that time governed by an Intendant ſent by the Emperor, and under the controul of the governor of Syria. The Jews then loſt, in the fineſt part, and in the capital of their country, even the very ſhadow of public power, having no longer ſo much as their own particular princes to govern them. This change happened in the year of Rome 759, and the eighth of the Chriſtian vulgar æra. Coponius was the firſt Intendant ſent by Auguſtus to govern Judea.

HISTORY

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS

From AUGUSTUS to CONSTANTINE.

BOOK III.

SECT. I.

TEMPLE of Janus opened again on account of the German war. Tiberius ſent againſt the Germans; gains great advantages over them. Extends his conqueſts to the Elbe. The Germans ſue for peace and obtain it. Power of Maroboduus, King of the Marcomans. Tiberius prepares to attack him. Is prevented by the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Strength and deſigns of the rebels. Alarm in Rome. Tiberius undertakes the conduct of that war, and manages it with great prudence. Auguſtus ſends Germanicus to him. The Romans ſuſtain a loſs by the raſhneſs of two Lieutenant Generals. Tiberius diſtreſſes the enemy by want. The Pannonians ſubmit. The Dalmatians are ſubdued by force. Fury and

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deſpair of the women ſhut up in the town of Arduba. Baton, the Dalmatian, ſurrenders. His anſwer to Tiberius. Importance of this war. Auguſtus's care to pleaſe the people. Tiberius's conduct in this war praiſed. His victory great and opportune. Honours decreed him. Honours and privileges granted Germanicus; and Druſus, ſon of Tiberius. Varus governor of Germany. His character and conduct. Character and conduct of Arminius, chief of the revolted Germans. Bloody defeat of the Romans. Inſolence and cruelty of Arminius after the victory. Auguſtus's grief. Terror in Rome. Tiberius is appointed to oppoſe the Germans. He behaves like a great and experienced General. He croſſes the Rhine and lays the country waſte. He does the ſame next year. Auguſtus is fully ſatisfied with his conduct. Expreſſes great kindneſs towards him. He gives him a power equal to his own. Triumph of Tiberius. Eight Legions on the Rhine. The command of them is given Germanicus. Auguſtus labours to the end of his life, allowing himſelf only ſome relaxation. He cauſes the ſame power to be given his Privy Council that the Senate had. He weakens the little power that ſtill remained with the people. His zeal to aboliſh celibacy. The law Papia Poppæa. *Law againſt Diviners and Aſtrologers revived. Puniſhment of authors of defamatory libels. Baniſhment of Caſſius Severus. Law to make the condition of exiles harder. Regulations concerning the encomiums governors of provinces made the people give them. He takes off the injunction he had laid on Knights not to fight as Gladiators. Auguſtus*

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gustus grows infirm. Uneasiness of the Romans. Livia is suspected of having poisoned Augustus. Uncertainty of what was reported on that subject. Augustus conducts Tiberius, who was going to Illyria, as far as Beneventum; and tho' very ill, amuses himself much in that journey. He is stopped at Nola by the violence of his disorder. Tiberius returns. Augustus dies. His age. Duration of his reign.

THE general peace, attested by closing the Temple of Janus eight years before the vulgar Christian æra, and four years before the true date of the birth of Christ, had suffered some slight interruption, but so remote from the centre of the Empire, and attended with so little danger, that Augustus did not think it a sufficient cause to acknowledge, when he opened the Temple of Janus again, that the peace, his work, and in which he gloried, was broke. Temple of Janus opened again on account of the German war.

Among these slight commotions I reckon those of the * Germans, during the year 752 of Rome, and the two following. They were easily quelled by M. Vinicius, who in consequence obtained the honours of triumph. But in the year of Rome 755 the war became serious, and Tiberius was sent into Germany immediately after his adoption. It can hardly *Vell. II. 104.*

* *Velleius, speaking of these commotions, makes use of a very emphatical expression;* immensum exarserat bellum; *says he; but he is a flatterer, and wants to extol Vinicius's exploits, to whom he dedicates his work. We have already spoken, after Dion Cassius, in the year of Rome 727, of some little feats of that same Vinicius against the Germans.*

be doubted but that the Temple of Janus was then opened again, nor was it ſhut any more during the reign and life of Auguſtus. The German war, a little calmed at the end of two years, was immediately followed by one with the Pannonians; and juſt as this laſt was ended, the other, which had only ſubſided for a time, broke out again with more fury than ever, and raged with great violence till the beginning of Tiberius's reign. I will endeavour to give an account of thoſe events.

A.R. 755. SEX. ÆLIUS CATUS.
A. C. 4. C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

Tiberius ſent againſt the Germans, gains great advantages over them. *Dio. l.* LV. *Suet. Tib. c.* 16. *Vell.*

TIBERIUS, immediately after Auguſtus had adopted him, being ordered to go and pacify Germany, left Rome when the ſeaſon was pretty far advanced; for he was adopted towards the end of June. He did not *loſe* a moment's time, but with all expedition entered the enemy's country; and backed by Sentius Saturninus, a man of years and experience, father to the Conſul of that name for this year, gained great advantages. He ſcowered all the Lower Rhine, ſubduing the * Caninetali, the Attuarii, and the Bructeri. He paſſed the Veſer, and made the Cheruſci ſubmit to their Duty. All theſe expeditions prolonged the campain till December. Tiberius ſettled his winter quarters beyond the Rhine near the head of the Lippe, in order to be in readineſs to

* *A people inhabiting part of the iſland of the Batavians. The Attuarii lived on the borders of the Lippe; the Bructeri between the Rhine and the river Ems.*

purſue

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purſue his operations early the next year. Himſelf went to Rome for the reſt of the winter, not chuſing to run the hazards of too long an abſence, which might afford opportunities of prejudicing and ſupplanting him in the eſteem of Auguſtus, on whoſe affection he did not greatly rely.

CN. CORNELIUS CINNA MAGNUS. A.R. 756.
L. VALERIUS MESSALA VOLUSUS. A. C. 5.

Extends his conqueſts to the Elbe.

EARLY in the ſpring Tiberius returned to Germany, and proſecuted the war with great vigour both by ſea and land. He penetrated into the heart of the country with his legions: ſubdued the Cauci, and the haughty Lombards, who then inhabited the Marche of Brandebourg, on each ſide the Elbe. At the ſame time that he arrived on the borders of that river, his fleet, which had ſailed round the coaſts of Germany, entered its mouth, bringing his army all ſorts of proviſions and refreſhments.

Theſe exploits do not ſeem to have coſt Tiberius either great efforts or great peril. Velleius, who at that time ſerved under him, and who ſwells his narrative with the moſt pompous expreſſions he could think of, owns that in all this expedition there was but one battle, in which the Barbarians, attempting to ſurprize the Roman army, were repulſed and cut to pieces. If then the Germans humbly ſued for peace, their ſubmiſſion muſt have been owing to the terror they were ſtruck with at ſeeing ſuch a prodigious force brought into their

The Germans ſue for peace, and obtain it.

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country, and by the formidable appearance of a land army and a fleet combined. Tiberius granted them the peace they desired, and gained a second time the glory of reducing the whole country from the Rhine to the Elbe, to acknowledge, in appearance at least and for a time, the Roman laws. Augustus took on this occasion the title of *Imperator* for the fifteenth time, and permitted Tiberius to take it the fourth. Sentius Saturninus received the ornaments of triumph.

Bucher. Belg. Rom. lib. II. c. 19.

A.R. 757. A. C. 6. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, L. ARRUNTIUS.

Power of Maroboduus, King of the Marcomans. *Vell.* II. 108.

AFTER subduing a considerable part of Germany in two campains, Tiberius purposed to extend his conquests and the Roman dominion, by attacking Maroboduus, King of the Marcomans. That Prince, by birth a Barbarian [a], but by no means such in his conduct, and the qualifications of his mind, had formed himself a powerful kingdom, less by his courage, though that was great, than by a well-concerted and well-followed policy, always properly governing and directing every action of his towards the object to which his ambition aspired. Born on the borders of the Mein, of one of the most illustrious families of the Marcomans, his person and exalted sentiments were answerable to the nobility of his extraction. To these he added the acquired accomplishments of the mind, having spent his youth at Rome, where Augustus loaded him with favours.

Strab. l. VII.

[a] Natione magis quàm ratione barbarus.

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vours. When returned to his own country, he gained the esteem and admiration of his countrymen to that degree, that they soon made him their chief. But what he aimed at was to be a great king: and the Romans, whose power was more and more established by Drusus's victories in the western parts of Germany, were troublesome neighbours, that hindered him from extending himself. He resolved to remove from them; and in consequence of that resolution prevailed on the Marcomans, as I have before said, and on some others of the Suevi, to leave their native country, threatened with servitude: and with that numerous and formidable colony he removed into Bohemia, of which he took possession by dint of arms. From thence, as from a center, he spread himself around, made conquests over the neighbouring people, and in a few years formed himself an extensive territory, which he governed with the title and power of king. He had a guard for his person, and maintained seventy thousand foot soldiers and four thousand horse; all brave troops, which he took care to discipline after the Roman manner.

A. R. 751. A. C. 6. Vell.

With such forces, and bordering almost on Italy, from which his frontiers were not above two hundred miles distant, the Romans might well be a little jealous of him; and tho' Tiberius undoubtedly exaggerated, when, several years afterwards, speaking of him in the Senate, he said, that [b] neither Philip had been an enemy

[b] Non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse. *Tac. Ann.* II. 63.

A.R. 757. A. C. 6. more to be dreaded by the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus and Antiochus by Rome, than was Maroboduus. This however at leaſt is very certain, that if the Romans, at the height of power and greatneſs to which they were arrived, could have reaſon to fear any thing, it was the power of Maroboduus.

Nor was his behaviour towards them calculated to diminiſh their apprehenſions. He did not make war againſt them, but plainly ſhewed, that in caſe they attacked him, he wanted neither means nor reſolution to defend himſelf. By his ambaſſadors that he ſent to Auguſtus and to Tiberius, ſometimes he would ſpeak the language of a ſupplicant, and at others that of an equal. Private perſons, or whole nations that withdrew themſelves from the Roman ſubjection, found a ſure aſylum with him. In a word, [c] all his actions ſeemed plainly to tell thoſe haughty maſters of the univerſe, that they had a rival, whom political reaſons only prevented from declaring himſelf their enemy.

Tiberius prepares to attack him.

The Roman pride could not bear that any one ſhould not be ſubject to them; for which reaſon Tiberius ſettled his plan of operations, reſolving to make him bend, and ſubmit to their laws. His deſign was to attack him in two places. Sentius Saturninus was ordered to croſs the country of the Catti, and open himſelf a paſſage thro' the Hercynian foreſt, ſo to enter Bohemia at the weſt; whilſt he, with another army aſſembled at Carnuntum,* then a

[c] Totum ex malè diſſimulato agebat æmulum. *Vell.*

* *Carnuntum has long been ruined. Its remains are to be ſought*

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a town of great importance on the Danube, should form his attack on the south side. A.R. 757. A. C. 6.

Maroboduus was undone, could this scheme have been put in execution. Already Tiberius on one side, and Saturninus on the other, were but five days march distant from the enemy: when a sudden revolt of the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and all the people of those countries, obliged the Romans to think of preventing more urgent dangers. It would have been [a] imprudent in them to penetrate into Bohemia, and leave Italy exposed to the depredations of those formidable neighbours. A necessary care was preferred to a motive merely of glory: and Tiberius, concluding a treaty with Maroboduus, who was no ways averse to it, turned his arms against the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Is prevented by the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. *Tac. Ann. II. 46.*

The revolt began in Dalmatia, a Province till then peaceable, and for that reason put in the Senate's department: but afterwards suffering but impatiently that tributes and taxes should be levied on them, they grew tumultuous, and in the year of Rome 741 Augustus took the administration of that Province to himself. Tiberius soon reduced them to order: but the exactions still subsisting, and the Dalmatians still preserving rancour in their hearts, took the opportunity the preparations for war against Maroboduus offered them. For Tiberius, in order to form the army assembled at *Dio. l. LV.* *Dio. l. LV. & Vell. II. 110.*

fought for, according to Cellarius, near Haimbourg, below Vienna, and above Presbourg.

[a] Tum necessaria gloriosis præposita: neque tutum visum, abdito in interiora exercitu, vacuam tam vicino hosti relinquere Italiam. *Vell.*

Carnuntum,

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A. R. 757. A. C. 6. Carnuntum, had drawn the Roman troops out of Dalmatia and Pannonia; and Valerius Meſſalinus, Governor of thoſe two Provinces, was gone in perſon to join him with the greateſt part of his forces. Men too were levied among the Dalmatians, which opened their eyes and made them ſenſible of their own ſtrength, in a numerous and flouriſhing train of youth. Under theſe circumſtances, encouraged and headed by one Baton, they attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and inſtead of joining Tiberius's army, as they were ordered, fell on the Romans that were left in their country, and killed a great number of them. That was the ſignal of the revolt, which the Pannonians immediately joined, under the command of another Baton.

Strength and deſigns of the rebels.

Never did fire ſpread with ſuch violence and rapidity. In a very ſhort time the rebels were in arms, to the number of two hundred thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Judiciouſly dividing their ſtrength, one part was to attempt a paſſage into Italy, between Nauportum * and Trieſte, another over-ran Macedonia, whilſt a third remained in the country to defend it. In the firſt heat of this ſudden revolt all the Roman citizens and traders ſpread up and down the country, were murdered or made ſlaves, the garriſons cut to pieces, and the poſts they held, taken. The towns of Sirmich and Salona, being in a condition to defend themſelves, reſiſted, and were beſieged, one by the Pannonians, the other by the Dalmatians.

* *Ober Laubach.*

Alarm in Rome.

The alarm reached Rome: Auguſtus's reſolution was ſhaken: he was heard to ſay that, unleſs

unleſs care was taken, the enemy might in ten days be ſeen before the walls of the capital of the Empire. Troops were raiſed in haſte: veteran ſoldiers were called back to their ſtandards from all quarters: the richeſt citizens, and even the ladies, were ordered, according to their faculties, to ſend their ſtrongeſt and ableſt ſlaves to be made free and enliſted. The Senators and Roman knights all offered their ſervices, and many of them went to ſerve in perſon. But theſe ſuccours were ſlow and diſtant. A. R. 757. A. C. 6.

Cecina Severus, who commanded in Mæſia,* was firſt there, and made the Pannonians raiſe the ſiege of Sirmich. Next came Meſſalinus, detached by Tiberius, and he marched againſt Baton the Dalmatian, who had likewiſe been obliged to leave Salona, by a wound he received before that place. The two armies met, and the Barbarian had ſome advantage. But ſoon after falling into an ambuſh, he was heartily beaten by Meſſalinus, who merited by that exploit the ornaments of triumph. At laſt Tiberius came, and took the general conduct of the war, which he directed agreeable to his uſual maxims, relying more on prudence than on ſtrength, and endeavouring to diſtreſs the enemy by want, rather than expoſe himſelf to their impetuous fury. Tiberius undertakes the conduct of that war, and manages it with great prudence.

Not but that he had a powerful army under his command; fifteen legions and as many auxiliary troops; among whom Rhymetalces and Rhaſcuporis, two brothers, Kings of *Suet. Tib. 16.*

* *Mæſia reached from where the Save and Danube join, to the Pontus Euxinus.*

Thrace,

A.R.757. A. C. 6. Thrace, diſtinguiſhed themſelves. But he [a] wanted to ſave his ſoldiers, and never would be tempted by any opportunity, however favourable, to fight the enemy, if it was like to coſt him much bloodſhed. The ſafeſt always appeared to him the moſt glorious means: he ſtudied rather to fulfill the duty of his commiſſion, than to acquire a brilliant reputation by it: the deſires of his troops never were the rule of his conduct: the wiſdom of the General was, in his opinion, to direct the motions of the ſoldier, whoſe duty it was to obey.

I ſay this after Velleius, who I think may be credited on this occaſion, what he relates being agreeable to the character of Tiberius, and moreover proved by facts. The laſt words of that hiſtorian, which I have made uſe of, gives us to underſtand, that Tiberius's ſlowneſs was not always approved by his army. Auguſtus himſelf was not quite pleaſed with it at firſt, and began to ſuſpect Tiberius wanted to ſpin out the war, to keep the command in his own hands. In order therefore to make him exert himſelf, he ſent him the next year Germanicus, then Quæſtor, at the head of what troops had been raiſed in Rome and Italy. He depended on the activity of that young Prince, then in the flower and vigour of life, and on the integrity

Vell.

Auguſtus ſends Germanicus to him.

[a] Nunquam (Tiberio) adeo ulla opportuna viſa eſt victoriæ occaſio, quam damno amiſſi penſaret militis; ſemperque viſum eſt glorioſum, quod eſſet tutiſſimum, & antè conſcientiæ, quàm famæ, conſultum, nec unquam conſilia ducis judicio exercitûs, ſed exercitus providentiâ ducis rectus eſt. *Vell.* II. 115.

of

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of his heart, open, generous, and incapable of harbouring a thought contrary to his duty.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus. A.R. 758.
A. Licinius Nerva Silianus. A. C. 7.

UNDER the Conſuls Metellus Creticus and Nerva Silianus, the raſhneſs of two Lieutenant-Generals, and the loſs the Romans ſuſtained by it, juſtified Tiberius's circumſpection. The Romans ſuſtain a loſs by the raſhneſs of two lieutenant generals.

Cecina Severus, who had been obliged to return to Mæſia, to ſecure that Province from the incurſions of the Dacians and Sarmatians, marched back this year againſt the Pannonians, accompanied with Plautius Sylvanus, who had brought him a ſtrong reinforcement from [b] beyond ſea. The body commanded by thoſe two Generals conſiſted of five legions, beſides auxiliary troops, the number of which we are ignorant of, being only told that Rhymatalces's Thracian cavalry was amongſt them. They marched without any precaution, thinking the enemy at a great diſtance; when at once they were all ſurrounded, every thing gave way, and was in confuſion, the legions excepted: their valour remedied the imprudence of their Generals, and ſtopped the rout: they ſtood firm at firſt, then advancing on the enemy, broke them, and gained a complete victory. But it was a bloody one; not only a great number of ſoldiers, but ſeveral officers of diſtinction periſhed.

[b] *So Velleius expreſſes it, and part of Aſia, properly* ex tranſmarinis provinciis, *by which I underſtand Bithynia called.*

On

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A.R. 758. A.C. 7. Tiberius diſtreſſes the enemy by war.

On the contrary, Tiberius managed the war prudently againſt the rebels he was to oppoſe, and cutting off their ſupplies of proviſions, and driving them from their poſts, reduced them to greater diſtreſs than they could bear, nor dared they accept the battle he offered them. They left the flat country, and retreated to a mountain, where they intrenched themſelves.

Germanicus on his ſide conquered the Mazæans, a people of Dalmatia, in a pitch'd battle.

A.R. 759. A.C. 8.

M. Furius Camillus.
Sex. Nonius Quintilianus.

The Pannonians ſubmit.

THE third year of the war, Tiberius began to reap the fruits of his good conduct. The rebels, ruined and conſumed by hunger, and worn out with ſickneſſes, conſequent on miſery and badneſs of food, deſired peace; and would all have ſubmitted, had they not been prevented by the authors of the revolt, who feared the Romans would grant them no quarter. At length the Pannonians left them, and all their young men aſſembling near the river Bathinus, laid down their arms, and threw themſelves at the conqueror's feet. Of their two chiefs, Baton and Pinnes, one had been made priſoner in ſome action, of which we have no account; the other ſurrendered himſelf. Thus Pannonia was pacified, and there remained only the Dalmatians to deal with, who, as they had been the firſt to revolt, ſo were they the moſt obſtinate in rebellion. Another campain was therefore neceſſary to put a final end to the war.

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Q. Sulpicius Camerinus. A.R. 760.
C. Poppæus Sabinus. A. C. 9.

THIS laſt campain was not the leaſt laborious. Tiberius having divided his troops into three bodies, one of which was commanded by Lepidus, and another by Silanus *, put himſelf with Germanicus at the head of the third; and with theſe three armies overran all Dalmatia, waſting, burning and plundering every thing: ſo that the Dalmatians had no reſource left but to ſhut themſelves up in two towns they had remaining. Andetrium near Saloria, and Arduba. The firſt of theſe was beſieged by Tiberius, and the other by Germanicus. The Dalmatians are ſubdued by force. *Vell.* H. 114. *Dio. l.* LVI.

The ſiege of Andetrium proved a difficult and troubleſome operation: the beſieged were ſo obſtinate, that tho' Baton, their chief, ſeeing no hopes, had left them and fled away, they ſtill defended themſelves; nor could be maſtered but by forcing them ſword in hand.

Arduba would not have coſt Germanicus leſs trouble, if the beſieged had not quarrelled among themſelves. There was a great number of deſerters in the town, who knowing they had no favour to expect from the Romans, reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, and die in the breach: the natives of the place were,

* So Dion Caſſius names that Lieutenant of Tiberius. One would be apt to think there is ſome little miſtake in the name, and that it ſhould be Silvanus, or Sylvanus, of whom we ſpoke before, and who, according to Pighius, merited the honours of triumph in this war.

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A.R.760. A. C. 9. on the contrary, inclined to ſurrender: from words they came to a battle in form: but what was very ſingular, is, that the women, more obſtinate to defend their liberty than the men, declared themſelves in favour of the deſerters, againſt their huſbands. The inhabitants got the better, and opened their gates to the Romans. The women, then quite frantic, did not heſitate a moment betwixt death and ſlavery, but taking their children in their arms, threw themſelves with them, ſome into a fire they had made on purpoſe, and others into the river that ran cloſe to the walls.

Fury and deſpair of the women ſhut up in the town of Arduba.

That was the laſt exploit of this war. Baton, the Dalmatian, who ſtill had a handful of armed men about him, dared no longer try his fortune, but offered Tiberius to ſurrender, if his life, and the lives of his followers were granted. His offer being agreed to, he appeared with a noble courage before Tiberius's tribunal; and being aſked by him what were the motives of his revolt, "Romans, to whom I ſpeak, ſaid "he, it was your own fault: you ſend wolves, "and not ſhepherds, to keep your flocks."

Baton, the Dalmatian, ſurrenders. His anſwer to Tiberius.

Importance of this war. Suet. Tib. c. 16.

Thus ended the war with the Pannonians and Dalmatians, which Suetonius calls the moſt important and terrible the Romans had had ſince the Punic wars. That is ſaying a great deal. The Cimbrians and Teutons certainly threatened Rome with greater danger: but it is likewiſe true, that the war we have been ſpeaking of, on account of the number and valour of the enemy, and their proximity to Italy, might give the Romans great uneaſineſs.

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Auguſtus was of that opinion. Tho' then ſeventy years old, he went to Rimini to be nearer the ſcene of action, and more at hand to be conſulted and give his orders. He likewiſe took a particular care to make eaſy the minds of the people, eaſily frightened when once a terror ſeizes them. He thought it a piece of policy, which I can by no means approve of, to conform to the ſuperſtitious prejudices of the vulgar in favour of a woman, who having a knack of graving certain characters on her arm, pretended to be a Propheteſs: as he ſaw the people wrapped up in this woman, he affected to believe her himſelf, and went through all the ceremonies ſhe preſcribed for the proſperity of the Roman arms. A.R. 760. A. C. 9. *Dio. l.* LV. Auguſtus's care to pleaſe the people.

He thought it the more neceſſary to behave with this circumſpection, as the charges of the war had obliged him to lay a new tax, conſiſting of the fifteenth part of the price for which every ſlave was ſold. This was a charge that, added to the twentieth part of all collateral inheritances, lately impoſed, to the ſcarcity of proviſions that ſtill ſubſiſted, and to the hardſhips and dangers of the war, might irritate and alienate the people, if Auguſtus had not taken care to humour them, by a complaiſance ſometimes too far ſtretched.

The happy ſucceſs of the war remedied all, and Rome was indebted for it to Tiberius, whoſe work this great victory was. Suetonius ſays, that when often exhorted by Auguſtus to leave an undertaking that expoſed him to too many dangers, he always perſiſted not to give it up till he had brought it to a proſperous Tiberius's conduct in this war praiſed.

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A.R. 760. A. C. 9. end. In his conduct of this war he gave proofs of his prudence, activity, and, which is very remarkable in a character like his, of humanity and mildneſs. Velleius, an eye witneſs, aſſures us he took infinite care of the ſick and wounded officers: his carriage and litter were for their uſe. On this occaſion it may be obſerved, by the by, how little the Romans, even then, had given way to luxury in their military ſervice; ſince in a great army there was no other carriage of eaſe, nor any other litter than what belonged to the Prince, who was their General. Velleius adds, that Tiberius took upon himſelf to furniſh every thing immediately neceſſary for the ſick, phyſicians, ſurgeons, remedies, food proper for their ſituations, and in ſhort bathing; all neceſſary utenſils having been brought to the camp, by his order, merely for that purpoſe. As to himſelf, he was never ſeen but on horſeback: he and all that were *invited* to his table ate ſitting. Attentively careful to keep up a proper [a] diſcipline, he avoided being too ſevere in it; chuſing rather to adviſe or reprimand, than puniſh; conniving at many things, but cutting ſhort when abuſes were going too far, and might become contagious. What pity that a Prince, ſo well acquainted with virtue, ſhould ever have preferred vice and tyranny!

His victory great and opportune. *Suet. Tib.* 16, 17.

Tiberius's victory added a great extent of land to the Roman territories: it was what they

[a] Non ſequentibus diſciplinam, quatenus exemplo non nocebatur, ignovit: admonitio frequens inerat & caſtigatio, vindicta rariſſima; agebatque medium plurima diſſimulantis, aliqua inhibentis. *Vell.* II. 114.

called

called Illyria, lying between Noricum and Italy, the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, Thrace and Macedonia. And what made this victory of infinite value to Auguſtus and the whole nation was, the circumſtance of Varus's unfortunate defeat in Germany, which happened juſt at the ſame time; ſo that it could not be doubted but the Germans, after their conqueſt, would have joined their forces to thoſe of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, if the latter had ſtill been in arms. A.R. 760. A. C. 9.

A triumph was decreed Tiberius, who well deſerved it: many other honours were added to it, and ſome in the Senate propoſed giving him ſome glorious ſurname, as the *Pannonian*, or the *Invincible*: others thinking it more honourable to celebrate a quality, of which he had indeed the outward appearance, but by no means the reality, ſurnamed him the *Pious*, meaning a ſon full of tender and reſpectful attachment to the Emperor, his adoptive father. Auguſtus, who perhaps was not over fond of this ardent zeal to exalt Tiberius, would not let any new ſurname be given him: "That which is re- "ſerved for him after my death, ſaid he, will "be ſufficient." He was in the right: the name *Auguſtus*, to which the ſupreme authority was annexed, eaſily obliterated all thoſe vain titles of honour without power. Honours decreed him.

As to the triumph, Tiberius himſelf deferred it, on account of the deep mourning into which the recent defeat of Varus had thrown the whole city. He made his entry, however, in the robe *Prætexta* and laurel crown, and aſcended a tribunal prepared for him in the

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A. R. 760. A. C. 9. Campus Martius, round which all the Senate was ranged. There he ſeated himſelf at Auguſtus's ſide, between the two Conſuls; and after ſaluting the people who had flocked together to receive him, he was conducted in pomp to the Capitol, and ſeveral other temples, where he returned thanks to the Gods.

Honours and privileges granted Germanicus. *Dio, l.* LVI.

Germanicus, who had ſeconded him perfectly well in the Pannonian war, and who was come himſelf to Rome to bring the news of his victory, obtained the ornaments of triumph and thoſe of Prætor; though he had been no more than Quæſtor: the right of ſpeaking in the Senate immediately after thoſe of conſular dignity, and a diſpenſation to be Conſul, before the age preſcribed by law.

And Druſus, ſon of Tiberius.

Privileges of the ſame kind, but of an inferior order, becauſe he was younger, were granted Druſus, ſon of Tiberius: a right to ſit in the Senate, though he was not yet a Senator, and the precedence before all old Prætors after he ſhould be Quæſtor.

Vell. II. 119. Varus, governor of Germany. His character and conduct. *Vell.* II. 117. *Flor.* IV. 12. *Suet. Aug.* 23. *Dio. l.* LVI.

The Romans felt but little joy for the victory over the Pannonians and Dalmatians; ſo great was their conſternation at Varus's defeat in Germany, the moſt bloody and compleat they had had ſince Craſſus. P. Quintilius Varus, author of this cruel diſgrace, to which himſelf fell a victim, ſeems to have been a man of no capacity; promoted to high poſts more by favourable circumſtances than his own merit. Born of a family made illuſtrious by the honours they had received, but of modern nobility; he was Conſul with Tiberius the year of Rome 739. He governed Syria after Sentius Saturninus,

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Saturninus, whom he likewiſe ſucceeded in the government of Germany. He was of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition: his two great faults, and the chief cauſes of his loſs were, credulity and love of money. Syria [a] had felt his covetouſneſs: he went there poor, and found the province rich; he returned rich himſelf, leaving the province poor. He had no great ſcope to ſatisfy that paſſion in Germany, then deſtitute of all that might encourage luxury or excite cupidity. Yet he plundered, as much as poſſible, thoſe people, as poor as they were brave, and, to whom exactions were doubly odious, both by the injury their ſlender fortunes ſuſtained, and by their thinking it a badge of ſervitude that ſullied their glory. A.R. 760. A.C. 9.

Whilſt he thus irritated that bold, intractable people, he took no manner of care to guard againſt their reſentment. He had taken it into his head to model and poliſh their manners, and to civiliſe, by laws, thoſe whom arms could not ſubdue. With that view he treated Germany as a peaceable province, taking his circuits, keeping his high days, and adminiſtring juſtice; as if his faſces and lictors could have impoſed upon a people, who till then had hardly known any other law than that of the ſtrongeſt. The idea of the ſweets ariſing from a well regulated ſtate did not touch the Germans: [b] on the contrary, ſays Florus, in his almoſt poetic ſtile, penetrated with grief to ſee their arms

[a] Pecuniæ, quàm non contemptor fuerit, Syria, cui præfuerat, declaravit; quam pauper divitem ingreſſus, dives pauperem reliquit. *Vell.*

[b] Qui jampridem rubigine oblitos enſes, inerteſque mœrerent equos. *Flor.*

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A.R. 760. A.C. 9. eat up with ruſt, and their horſes languiſhing in inaction, they thought of nothing but revolting againſt a government ſo little ſuitable to their inclinations. Varus's ſupineneſs gave them great room to hope for ſucceſs. All they wanted was a chief to direct the enterpriſe, and him they found, ſuch as they could wiſh.

Character and conduct of Arminius, chief of the revolted Germans.

Arminius, a young nobleman of one of the firſt families of the Cheruſci, had every qualification neceſſary to conduct a conſpiracy. Perſonally brave, [c] full of fire that ſparkled in his face and eyes, fruitful in reſources, and beſides all that, dexterous, cunning; knowing how to feign, or how to diſſemble any thing: ſuch a man had great advantages over ſo negligent a governor as Varus. His firſt care was to encourage and encreaſe Varus's indolence, well knowing that he is ſooneſt overpowered who fears leaſt; and that an imprudent confidence is often the ſource and occaſion of the moſt dreadful calamities. He had free acceſs to him, not only on account of his birth and rank, but becauſe he had till then ſeemed a friend to the Romans, having ſerved in their armies, and behaved ſo well there as to be made a Roman citizen, and a Knight. Cultivating theſe openings, he ſoon grew familiar with Varus, entering into his ways of thinking, and extolling the happineſs of Germany, about to

He deceives Varus.

[c] Juvenis genere nobilis, manu fortis, ſenſu celer, ultra barbarum promptus ingenio, . . ardorem animi vultu oculiſque præferens . . . ſegnitiâ ducis in occaſionem ſceleris uſus eſt, haud imprudenter ſpeculatus, neminem celeriùs opprimi, quàm qui nihil timeret; & frequentiſſimum initium eſſe calamitatis, ſecuritatem. *Vell.*

acquire

acquire by his means, a knowledge of law and justice; by which quarrels, before decided by arms, would be ended peaceably; in a word, barbarity would be baniſhed, and politeneſs take the place of their rude and ſavage manners. To confirm theſe diſcourſes he employed Germans, on whom he could depend, to pretend ſuits againſt one another; to lay them before Varus's tribunal, and receive his deciſion with thankfulneſs and ſatisfaction. The Roman was ſo dazzled by all theſe fine appearances, [a] that he thought the people loved him, and looked upon himſelf rather as a magiſtrate in the midſt of his fellow citizens, than as a General in a dangerous and ſuſpected country. A.R. 760. A.C. 9.

In the mean time Arminius was forming his plan, and taking meaſures to ſurprize the too credulous Varus, and cut him and his legions in pieces. He had already made him weaken his army, by ſending ſmall detachments here and there, which he had procured Germans to aſk for under different pretences, as to guard a poſt, ſtop inroads of robbers, and other things of that nature. When the time was come, the revolt broke out, by Arminius's ſecret orders, in the moſt remote cantons: and the few Romans that were diſperſed up and down were ſoon killed. Varus marched againſt the rebels with three legions, and Arminius remained behind, under pretence of following him immediately with a ſtrong reinforcement. His troops were in fact already aſſembled under their par-

[a] Uſque eò ut ſe prætorem urbanum in foro jus dicere, non in mediis Germaniæ finibus exercitui præeſſe crederet, *Vell.*

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A.R. 760. A. C. 9. ticular leaders, but with a very different view from what he pretended. He had nothing more to do but to unite them into one body, and put himſelf at their head: he ſoon came up with Varus in a narrow paſs, ſurrounded by woods and mountains. There it was he had reſolved to attack him.

Varus might ſtill have eſcaped, had he vouchſafed to liſten to an advice that came from ſo good a hand; it is inconceiveable how he could ſlight it. Segeſtes, an illuſtrious German, a friend to Rome, and who had been made a Roman citizen by Auguſtus, having diſcovered a part at leaſt of Arminius's plot, had more than once apprized Varus of it; and on a late occaſion, when they were met all together at a feaſt, he told the Roman General the danger was near at hand, and adviſed him to arreſt, himſelf, Arminius and the chief accomplices, to prevent the blow, and afterwards more at leiſure to examine into the matter, and know the innocent from the guilty. Varus, from a blindneſs that does not ſeem natural, was obſtinately bent on his own deſtruction. But it [a] generally happens, ſays Velleius, that God, when he intends to alter the condition of men, perverts their counſels; ſo that thoſe who periſh have the additional misfortune of ſeeming to have deſerved their fate, and of being thought not leſs blameable than unfortunate.

Tac. Ann. I. 55 & 58.

[a] Ita ſe res habet, ut plerumque Deus fortunam mutaturus conſilia corrumpat, efficiatque, quod miſerrimum eſt, ut quod accidit, id etiam meritò accidiſſe videatur, & caſus in culpam tranſeat.

The

The night next following that repaſt Arminius put his deſign in execution. On a ſudden, when the Romans leaſt expected it, they were attacked by the very troops they the evening before thought their friends and allies. Varus's legions were compoſed of excellent ſoldiers, and might be eſteemed the flower of the Roman army for goodneſs of diſcipline, bravery, and experience in the art of war. But what can valour do againſt obſtacles ſuperior to all human power? againſt ſurprize, the dead of night, an unknown country, foreſts and bogs, and a dreadful tempeſt at the ſame time combining? The Romans however reſiſted with courage, and after a conſiderable loſs, being forced at length to abandon their camp, which the Germans had got poſſeſſion of, they retreated to a little eminence, where they began to entrench themſelves. That was but a weak defence: the conquerors purſuing thoſe feeble remains, attacked them with redoubled fury. In this ſecond combat Varus was wounded, and ſeeing no reſource left, killed himſelf with his own ſword, following the example of his father, who made one of his freemen kill him after the battle of Philippi; and of his grandfather, who died in the ſame manner, tho' we cannot exactly ſay on what occaſion.

A.R. 760. A.C. 9. Bloody defeat of the Romans.

Tac. Ann. 1. 61.

The death of their General entirely diſheartened the Romans. Reduced to a ſmall number, ſurrounded by the Barbarians, fatigued by the difficulties of the place, taken as it were in a trap, even if they could have forced themſelves a paſſage thro' the German ranks, they could not hope to eſcape from their purſuit,

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A.R. 760. A.C. 9. fuit, thro' the vaſt extent they had to traverſe of the enemy's country. The deſpair thoſe brave men were overwhelmed with, made ſome kill themſelves as Varus had done: others fighting with obſtinacy, choſe rather to die by the enemy's hand. The greater part, unable to reſiſt ſuch complicated ills, and encouraged by the example of an officer of diſtinction, named Ceionius, laid down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. Numonius Vala, lieutenant to Varus, attempted to ſave himſelf with the cavalry: but being purſued and ſoon overtaken by the Germans, he met no better fate than the infantry he had forſaken; but periſhed, he, and all that were with him. Thus Varus's three legions were totally deſtroyed, the few that eſcaped not being worth noticing. Tacitus calls the place where the Romans ſuffered this bloody defeat *Teutoburgienſis ſaltus*, and is generally thought to be near *Dethmold*, in the county of Lippe, not far from the Veſer.

Tac. Ann. I. 60.

Two legions left in the old camp, from which Varus ſet out to march againſt the rebels, would have been in danger of being likewiſe cut to pieces: but Aſprænas, nephew and lieutenant to Varus, the moment he heard his uncle's misfortune, marched thoſe two legions, of which he had the command, out of the enemy's country with all expedition; and getting to the winter quarters the Romans had in lower Germany, he kept in order the people on that ſide of the Rhine, whoſe fidelity began to be ſhaken. This quick and happy retreat would have done him honour, as things were circumſtanced, had he not ſullied it by a low and unjuſt

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juſt avarice. Velleius ſays he was accuſed of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of the unfortunate, appropriating to himſelf all the baggage he found in the old camp, left there by the three legions that periſhed with Varus. A.R. 760. A. C. 9.

Arminius made as bad a uſe of his victory as an inſolent Barbarian could well do. He cauſed a tribunal to be erected for himſelf, to the foot of which all the Roman priſoners were brought, loaded with chains. He condemned them all to die. The Tribunes and Centurions of the firſt companies were ſacrificed as victims on altars built in the woods: the common ſoldiers, on the croſs or gallows. A young Roman, of illuſtrious birth, Cælius Caldus, ſeeing to what end he was reſerved, ſtretching out his chain, gave himſelf ſuch a violent blow over the head, that it broke his ſkull: his brains and blood covered the ground, and he expired inſtantly. Above all, the Germans took a cruel pleaſure in tormenting thoſe that had been any ways employed or concerned in the odious juriſdiction Varus had exerciſed over them, putting out their eyes, and cutting off their hands. One had his tongue pulled out, and his mouth ſewed up; after which the Barbarian who performed that horrid operation, holding the tongue in his hand, cried out ſeveral times, "ceaſe thy hiſſing, Viper." Varus's body was hid and buried by the ſoldiers, to ſkreen him from the inſults of the Barbarians: but it was found, taken up, and treated with the utmoſt ignominy; and when thought to have been long enough the inhuman ſport and mockery, not only of the lower claſs, but even of

Inſolence and cruelty of Arminius after the victory. *Tac. Ann.* I. 61.

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A.R. 760. A.C. 9. *Tac. Ann. I. 71.* of ſome of their chiefs, and among others of a nephew of Segeſtes, his head was cut off and ſent to Maroboduus, who conveyed it to Rome, where it was interred.

The ſtandards of the legions, and two of their eagles, fell into the enemy's hands; and thoſe objects of religious veneration among the Romans, were treated with the greateſt mockery and outrage by Arminius. The third eagle was ſaved by the courage and preſence of mind of him that bore it: ſeeing all was loſt, he ſnatched it from the top of the pike it was ſupported by, and tucking it under his belt, fled into a bog, where he eſcaped the enemy.

Tac. Ann. I. 60. Flor.

The Germans left the field of battle ſtrewed with the bloody marks of their victory: I mean the dead bodies of men and horſes, broken ſwords, pikes and javelins; a great number of heads ſtuck up on trunks of trees, and the inſtruments they had made uſe of to torture and put to death their unfortunate priſoners.

Tac.

Auguſtus's grief. Terror in Rome. *Suet. Aug. 23.*

I have already ſaid the grief for this diſaſter was extreme in Rome. Auguſtus ſet the example: perhaps he carried it too far, and did not ſufficiently attend to the majeſty of his rank, or the obligation a Prince lies under to comfort his people in times of calamity, by a ſerene and compoſed countenance, which, without diſſembling his griefs, may ſhew he does not think them paſt remedy. Auguſtus not only put on mourning, and let his beard and hair grow, but would often cry out in an agony, "Return me my Legions, Varus." I cannot believe what Suetonius adds, that he carried things to ſuch exceſs of phrenſy as to beat his head

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head againſt the walls. His affliction was not ſhort lived: ſo long as he lived, the day of Varus's defeat was to him a day of annual ſorrow and bitterneſs. A. R. 760. A. C. 9.

The terror of the Romans was at firſt equal to their grief: they imagined the Germans ready to croſs the Rhine and over-run Gaul, or even to penetrate into Italy, and ſet themſelves down before the walls of Rome. Auguſtus appointed a guard to mount in the city, and broke a company of German guards he had. Their fears vaniſhed by degrees: they learnt that Gaul remained in a ſtate of peace; that the borders of the Rhine on their ſide were well defended; and that the only thing the Germans had attempted ſince their victory was the ſiege of the fortreſs of Aliſo *, the garriſon of which, after making a brave defence, being able to hold out no longer, made a vigorous ſally ſword in hand, and opened themſelves a paſſage to join the Roman Legions. Beſides, winter † drew near, and of neceſſity brought on a ſuſpenſion of action. *Dio. & Suet.*

The Romans had then time to conſider more fully by what means to repair the loſs they had ſuſtained in Germany, and reſolved to ſend freſh troops on the Rhine. The difficulty was how to levy them. The people had by this time got the better of their apprehenſions of an invaſion; but the dreadful impreſſion of the valour and fierceneſs of the Germans ſtill remained,

* *A fort built by Druſus near the river former called* Aliſo, *now* Alm, *that falls into the Lippe.*

† *Varus's defeat ſeems to have happened towards the end of the year: Bucherius is of that opinion.*

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A. R. 760. A. C. 9. mained, and no body would enlist to go and attack those formidable enemies in their own country. Augustus was forced to use severity with some of the most stubborn, as an example to others, punishing them with forfeiture of their effects, marks of ignominy, and even some with death.

Tiberius is appointed to oppose the Germans.

The choice of a general was the easiest part: he could pitch on no other than Tiberius; nor was any one fitter for so difficult and dangerous an expedition.

Augustus likewise made use of religion as a resource, and vowed the Great Games, with this remarkable clause, used before in the Cimbrian war, and in that of the allies; SUPPOSING THE REPUBLIC BE IN A BETTER SITUATION. Such was the end of this year, which was the time when Augustus discovered and punished the debaucheries of his grand-daughter Julia. Ovid, who perhaps had some share in them, was banished, as every one knows, to Tomi in Scythia, on the borders of the Pontus Euxinus.

Bucher. Belg. Rom.

A. R. 761. A. C. 10. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. C. JUNIUS SILANUS.

He behaves like a great and experienced General. *Suet. Tib.* 18, 19.

TIBERIUS set out for Germany in the spring, and behaved there in a manner answerable to the great reputation he had already acquired. Being sensible the chief cause of Varus's misfortune was owing to the rashness and negligence of that imprudent General, he thought it incumbent on him to be doubly vigilant and circumspect. Hitherto it had been his custom to consult no-body, but to follow

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entirely his own opinions: he now took another method, held councils often, and did nothing without adviſing with the chief officers. To prevent luxury from creeping into the army, when he was preparing to croſs the Rhine, he ſettled the number and nature of equipages each might have according to his rank; and that he might be ſure his orders were ſtrictly obſerved, he ſaw them executed himſelf, ſtanding on the river ſide, and examining all the equipages as they went over. Himſelf ſet an example of the ſtrict ſimplicity he preſcribed to others; for while he was beyond the Rhine he never dined or ſupped but on the graſs, and often paſſed the night without a tent. Every day he gave his orders regularly in writing for the next day, with an expreſs injunction to whoever wanted to have any thing explained, to apply directly to himſelf, at whatever hour of the day or night it might be. He took care to ſee diſcipline exactly obſerved, and revived and put in force certain military puniſhments formerly uſed, but laid aſide for ſome time; and branded with ignominy the commander of a legion for having ſent ſome of his ſoldiers to hunt on the other ſide of the Rhine with one of his freemen. A.R. 761. A. C. 10.

An army ſo well governed had no need to fear being ſurpriſed by the Barbarians. Tiberius was not ſatisfied with ſecuring to the Empire, according to the orders he had received, the poſſeſſion of the Rhine; but judging that, in order to take from the Germans all deſire of paſſing into Gaul, it was neceſſary to carry the war into their own country, he entered it with

He croſſes the Rhine, and lays the country waſte. *Vell.* II. 120, 121. *Dio.*

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A.R. 761. A. C. 10. a great body of forces, and marching on in good order, and with all the precaution prudence could ſuggeſt, he over-run the whole country, waſting and deſtroying their lands, burning their towns and villages, and putting to flight all he met. Having thus eſtabliſhed again the reputation of the Roman arms, he conducted his Legions back to their winter quarters on this ſide the Rhine, without any loſs.

A.R. 762. A. C. 11. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. T. STATILIUS TAURUS.

He does the ſame next year.

UNDER the Conſuls Lepidus and Taurus he croſſed the Rhine again, having Germanicus with him, and again ravaged the country as he had done the year before. The Germans owned themſelves conquered by not appearing any where in a body. Arminius was ſenſible he had to deal with another kind of General than Varus.

Tiberius kept the field as long as the ſeaſon would permit; and having celebrated games there in honour of the Emperor's birth-day, as if he had been in a friendly country, he returned quietly to Gaul, ſure of having accompliſhed Auguſtus's intentions, who never deſired to extend his rule beyond the Rhine, looking on that river as a natural barrier between the Roman Empire, and the ſavage nations beyond it.

Auguſtus is fully ſatisfied with his conduct.

Nor can it be doubted how much Auguſtus was ſatisfied with Tiberius's conduct, when we read in Suetonius in what terms he wrote to him;

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him: "My dear Tiberius [a], said he to him, A. R. 762. A. C. 11.
"amidst so many difficulties, and whilst such
"a general relaxation prevails among the mi-
"litary people, I think no one could ever have
"acted with more prudence than you have
"done. All that served under you do you
"that justice, and apply to you what Ennius
"said of the illustrious Fabius, that the vigi-
"lance of one man has restored the affairs of
"the Republic."

Expresses great kindness towards him.

Augustus, as I have said elsewhere, was not at all disposed at first to like Tiberius: but charmed with the important services he had seen him render the Republic, he seems at last to have had a sincere friendship for him. The following expressions are equally full of tenderness and esteem. "[b] Whether I am busied

[a] Ego verò, mi Tiberi, inter tot rerum difficultates, καὶ τοσαύτην ῥαθυμίαν τῶν στρατευομένων, non potuisse quemquam prudentiùs gerere se, quàm tu gesseris, non existimo. Hi quoque qui tecum fuerunt omnes confitentur versum illum in te posse dici.

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

Suet. Tib. 21.

[b] Sive quid accidit, de quo sit cogitandum diligentiùs, sive quid stomachor valde, medius fidius Tiberium meum desidero: succurritque,

Τέτυ δ' ἰσπομένοιο, καὶ ἴκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
Ἄμφω νοησαίμην, ἐπεὶ σφέας ἴδεν νοῆσαι.

Attenuatum te esse continuatione laborum quùm audio & lego, Dii me perdant nisi cohorrescit corpus meum: teque rogo ut parcas tibi: ne si te languere audierimus, & ego & mater tua exspiremus, & de summa Imperii sui populus Romanus periclitetur. Nihil interest valeam ipse nec ne, si tu modò valebis. Deos obsecro ut te nobis conservent, & valere nunc & semper patiantur, si non populum Romanum perosi sunt. *Suet. ibid.*

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A.R.762. A.C. 11. "with affairs that require ſerious attention, or diſturbed by any thing that vexes me, I regret the abſence of my dear Tiberius, and call to mind what Homer makes Diomedes ſay of Ulyſſes; *with ſuch a ſecond, I ſhould hope to eſcape even from amidſt a conflagration; for he is a man of exquiſite prudence.* When I hear how you are worn out by conſtant fatigue, may I periſh if I do not ſhudder at it. I beg you will take care of yourſelf, leſt you ſhould fall ſick, your mother die with grief, and the Roman people be in danger of loſing their Empire. 'Tis of little conſequence whether I am well or ill, provided you be well. I beſeech the gods to ſpare you for our ſakes, and to grant you now and always a perfect ſtate of health, if they have not taken an averſion to the Roman people."

He gives him a power equal to his own. *Vell.* II. 121. *Suet. Tib.* 21. *Tac. Ann.* I. 3.

Words were not all: Auguſtus ſhewed by deeds his eſteem for, and confidence in Tiberius: for he made him almoſt his equal, and his collegue: and at his requeſt the Conſuls, in virtue of a decree of the Senate, paſſed a law, which the people agreed to, enacting that Tiberius ſhould have in all the provinces of the Emperor's department, and eſpecially in the army, the ſame power that Auguſtus himſelf had. With this addition of power and dignity Tiberius returned to Rome, to celebrate the triumph that had been decreed him long before, but had been poſtponed on account of Varus's misfortune. He triumphed for the Illyrians and Pannonians under the Conſulſhip of Germanicus.

GER-

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GERMANICUS CÆSAR. A.R.763.
C. FONTEIUS CAPITO. A.C. 12.

THE pomp of this triumph was magnificent. The principal chiefs of the conquered nations appeared in chains: the conqueror's lieutenants, who at his requeſt had obtained the ornaments of triumphers, accompanied him, cloathed in thoſe ſplendid rewards of their ſervices. Auguſtus preſided over the ceremony, ſeated moſt probably on the tribunal for harangues: and when Tiberius reached the Forum, before he turned towards the Capitol, he deſcended from his carr, and kneeling down, paid homage of his glory to his father. He afterwards treated the people at a thouſand tables, and gave them * three hundred ſeſterces a man. Triumph of Tiberius. * 48 shillings.

Nothing memorable happened from the time Tiberius left Germany; but a perfect calm enſued till Auguſtus's death. The Romans however kept a great force on the Rhine, eight legions divided into two armies, occupied the two provinces of Belgic Gaul, called the upper and lower Germany. Germanicus, then about twenty-eight years old, on the expiration of his Conſulſhip, received the command of all thoſe forces, the greateſt that were then aſſembled in any one part of the Empire: nor was leſs requiſite to maintain on one hand peace and quiet in Gaul, and on the other to ſtrike a terror into the Germans. The young Prince began the functions of his employment by numbering the Eight legions on the Rhine. The command of them is given Germanicus. *Tac. Ann.* I. 3 & 31. & IV. 5.

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A.R. 763. A. C. 12. Gauls, and was actually busy about it when Augustus died.

But before I speak of Augustus's death, it may be proper to take notice of the events of the latter part of his reign, that had no connection with the wars of Germany and Pannonia.

Augustus labours to the end of his life, allowing himself only some relaxation.

Tho' his constitution had always been very tender, yet by the care he took of it, and especially by his great sobriety, he preserved strength enough to the end of his days, not to linger out an inactive old age. He afforded himself some relaxation, but was never quite idle.

Dio.

At the age of seventy he began not to attend the meetings of the Senate so assiduously, but would let that body determine several things in his absence, tho' probably not the most important: four years afterwards he laid aside the troublesome ceremonial of tumultuous salutations and public dinners. He desired the Senators not to take any longer the trouble of coming regularly to pay their compliments to him at his palace, and to excuse him from meeting them when they dined in a body. In the year of Rome 764, in the month of September of which year he was to enter into the seventy-fifth year of his age, being able to go but seldom to the Senate, he caused his privy council to be invested with the authority of the whole body.

He causes the same power to be given his privy council that the Senate had.

We have seen him, at the beginning of his administration, take fifteen counsellors, chosen out of the Senators, and changed every six months. That council decided only matters that required dispatch; and prepared such as,

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as, being of greater moment, were to be laid before the whole Senate. On the occaſion I am ſpeaking of, Auguſtus took twenty counſellors inſtead of fifteen, and they were to ſerve a year. But the eſſential change was that I firſt mentioned, and conſiſts in this, that by a decree of the Senate it was ordained, that whatever ſhould be done or enacted by Auguſtus, aſſiſted by Tiberius, the two Conſuls, his two grandſons Germanicus and Druſus, and the council of twenty, ſhould have the ſame force as if done or enacted by the whole body of the Senate. In fact he exerciſed that authority before; but was glad to have a title in due form: and from that time governed the Empire without hardly ſtirring from his room, and often even not out of his bed. A. R. 763. A. C. 12.

He weakens the little power that ſtill remained with the people.

This decree was a notable diminution of the Senate's prerogatives: Auguſtus weakened likewiſe the people's power, ſoon to be annihilated by his ſucceſſor. The year 758 of Rome, the meetings for electing magiſtrates having been diſturbed by factions, the Emperor himſelf named to all the offices: and the following years recommended to the people ſuch as he choſe to have employed, juſt as the Dictator Cæſar had done.

His zeal to reform abuſes was ever viligant, nor did the wars prevent it; for they were Tiberius's care, and he managed them with judgment and ſucceſs. Above all he ſtrove to aboliſh celibacy, which he had before attacked ſeveral times; but in deſpight of his orders was ſtill prevalent in Rome: nay, people even dared to murmur loudly againſt the laws relating to it;

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and in the year of Rome 760, at ſome games where the Emperor was preſent, the Roman knights complained to him of the ſeverity of the penalties on celibacy, and preſſed him with great clamour to repeal them. To make them aſhamed of their requeſt, Auguſtus ordered Germanicus's children to be brought directly, who were pretty numerous, tho' the Prince was then but in his twenty-fourth year: then taking ſome of the babes in his arms, and ſetting others on their father's knees, he ſhewed them to the knights, exhorting the Roman youth to follow that example.

Suet. Aug. p. 34.

Dio,

He went farther: ſome little time after he commanded the whole order of knights to appear before him, divided into two bodies, thoſe that were married on one ſide, and ſuch as were unmarried on the other. The latter being much more numerous than the former, he could not refrain from indignation. Firſt, he beſtowed great praiſes on thoſe, who, by an honourable marriage, were bringing up citizens for the Republic: then turning towards the batchelors, "If, ſaid he with great warmth, you pretend "to follow the example of the Veſtals, live "like them, and ſubject yourſelves to the ſame "puniſhment if you are not as ſtrictly chaſte." That was not the taſte of thoſe gentry, who had no diſlike to marriage, but on account of the trouble of domeſtic affairs and the education of children: and liked to remain ſingle that they might indulge their paſſions without controul.

Auguſtus was juſtly incenſed at ſuch a conduct; and far from repealing or mitigating the penalties he had before inflicted on it, added new

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new ones, by a law enacted under the Conſuls Papius * and Poppæus. A circumſtance very ſingular, and which ſhews to what height the abuſe Auguſtus wanted to remedy was grown, is, that thoſe two Conſuls, by whom ſo ſevere a law againſt celibacy was carried thro' the Senate, were neither of them married. The law was called from them *Papia Poppæa*, and is very famous in the body of Roman law. I ſhall leave civilians, whoſe buſineſs it is, to explain at large, as much as they can, all the tenor of it: and ſhall only obſerve, that that law, according to Tacitus, had two objects; the one to puniſh celibacy, and the other to enrich the public treaſure by forfeiture of all collateral inheritances and legacies that fell to citizens not married. *Tac. Ann. III. 25.*

He revived in 762 the law againſt diviners and aſtrologers, thoſe public peſts, who by deceitful hopes and expectations excite the cupidity of men, and ſpread trouble and confuſion alike in the ſtate and in private families. To diſſuade the people from it, he made uſe of a method more effectual than the laws; which was to expreſs great contempt for it himſelf: and to ſhew how little he feared as to himſelf perſonally any predictions of aſtrologers, he publiſhed and poſted up in Rome the theme of *Law againſt diviners and aſtrologers revived, Dio,*

* *Theſe two Conſuls were ſubſtituted the firſt of July, in the room of thoſe who began the year: their names at length were,* M. Papius Mutilus, Q. Poppæus Secundus. *The laſt of theſe is not to be confounded with one of the Conſuls in ordinary for the ſame year, whoſe family name was the ſame, but his prename and ſurname different: his name was* C. Poppæus Sabinus.

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his own nativity, that is to ſay, a ſtate of the poſition of the ſtars at the inſtant of his birth.

Puniſhment of authors of defamatory libels. Baniſhment of Caſſius Severus.

Tac. Ann. I. 72.

Quintil. x. 7.

Authors of defamatory libels are another ſet of men noxious to ſociety. Auguſtus's care to ſuppreſs them was owing chiefly to the exceſſive liberties of that kind taken by Caſſius Severus, a celebrated orator, but who made an ill uſe of his wit and talents, by railing in his writings againſt every body of diſtinction in Rome, men and women. He was naturally of a cauſtic moroſe diſpoſition; his ſtile ſtrong and nervous; a pleaſing turn of expreſſion, but very bitter withal; and his diſcourſe was leſs governed [a] by ſenſe and judgment, than by the overflowings of his gall. When he accuſed any one, it was eaſy to ſee, the pleaſure of doing hurt was more his motive, than a deſire to do juſtice. "[b] Great gods, ſaid he, pleading "againſt Aſprænas, I live, and in that life re- "joice, that I now ſee Aſprænas accuſed." An expreſſion that Quintilian blames highly with great reaſon, as a characteriſtic of a malignant temper, fit only to indiſpoſe and alienate the minds of the judges. With a bad heart, and ill formed mind, he was worthy to be the firſt that corrupted the noble ſimplicity of the Latin eloquence, and the introductor and patriarch of depraved taſte.

Auct. de Cauſis corr. elog. 19 & 26.

Tac. Ann. IV. 21.

Auguſtus had long borne with the inſolence of this declaimer, the lowneſs of whoſe birth was equal to the petulance of his tongue, and who on ſome occaſions had not ſpared even

[a] Plus ſtomacho quam conſilio dedit. *Quintil.*

[b] Dii boni! vivo, &, quo me vivere juvet, Aſprenatem reum video. *Quintil.* XI. 1.

him.

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him. When entreated to puniſh him, he anſwered, that in a city ſo full of vice, the liberty of ſatyrizing was a neceſſary evil. But Caſſius growing bolder by impunity, and carrying the malignity of his revilings beyond all bounds, Auguſtus thought it incumbent on him to put a ſtop to it. He declared all authors of defamatory libels ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon, and puniſhed accordingly; an old law, which till then had been levelled only at actions detrimental to the ſtate, ſuch as ſeditions, treaſons againſt the Republic, and loſs of battles by the General's fault. Auguſtus, by bringing within this law all writings or diſcourſes injurious to another, did good; but that good became a ſource of injuſtice and tyrannical cruelties under his ſucceſſors. Caſſius, accuſed in virtue of this law, was tried by the Senate in a body, who, after taking a ſolemn oath to do ſtrict juſtice, condemned him to baniſhment in the iſle of Crete. *Suet. Aug. 56. & Dio. l. LV.*

A ſatyrical turn is a vice few can get the better of. Caſſius continued to diſplay, in his baniſhment, the dangerous talent that had brought that puniſhment on him; and we ſhall ſee how, by perſiſting in it, he added to his misfortunes under the reign of Tiberius.

I cannot ſay whether Auguſtus be to be blamed or praiſed for the additional rigour he inflicted on baniſhed perſons. It appears that, under the Republican government, thoſe who were interdicted fire and water, were at liberty to retire to what place they pleaſed. Auguſtus had already introduced the cuſtom of fixing them ſometimes to one particular place. But being

Law to make the condition of exiles harder. *Dio. l. LVI.*

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being appriſed that ſeveral exiles made th
puniſhment very light, either by the liber
they took of going to ſome diſtance from t
place that was allotted them to be in, or
good living and other comforts of life, he h
it enacted, that for the future ſuch as ſhould
interdicted fire and water, ſhould be tranſport
to * Iſlands at leaſt fifty miles diſtant from t
continent: and that no perſon in baniſhme
ſhould have more than twenty ſlaves, nor po
ſeſs more than the value of * five hundred tho
ſand ſeſterces.

* £. 4000.

Regulation concerning the encomiums governors of provinces made the people give them.

A very wiſe regulation, and uſeful to t
provinces, was that which Auguſtus made wi
regard to the encomiums the governors uſed
make the people they governed give ther
After robbing and plundering them, they woul
often either extort by new vexations, decrees
approbation and thanks, or ſtrive to gain ther
by a blameable indulgence: and thoſe certifi
cates of good behaviour were a means *of de*
fence to the guilty, in caſe they were accuſe
of mal-adminiſtration at Rome. Auguſtus
who had the happineſs of his ſubjects, and th
honour of the Empire at heart, deſirous to pr
vent a fraud, that was an encouragement to i
juſtice, and a rampart to thoſe who had co
mitted it; which rendered the government e
tremely odious, or on the contrary leſſened

* *The iſlands of Rhodes, Cos, Leſbos and Sardinia, tho' not at the diſtance preſcribed by law, yet were uſed as places of exile. Dion Caſſius ſays, he cannot tell the reaſon of that exception. One may ſuppoſe the Emperor's intent was reſerve to himſelf a po even by the law itſelf treating more gently ſuch as he ſhould think proper to vour.*

digni

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dignity: for thoſe reaſons, forbid all cities and provinces to make any act or decree in favour of Roman magiſtrates, neither whilſt they acted as magiſtrates, nor till ſixty days after were expired.

Among ſo many abuſes which Auguſtus laboured to root out, there was one that he thought himſelf obliged to give way to. He had forbid the Roman Knights to fight as Gladiators: but ſo ſtrongly were they bent on thoſe horrid combats, that the blemiſh annexed to it by law was deſpiſed. Auguſtus therefore choſe rather to take off the prohibition, thinking a few examples of bloody deaths might have more effect than the fear of ignominy. He was miſtaken. To give a looſe to vice is a bad way of preventing it. The crowd of ſpectators drawn together by illuſtrious names, the authority of the magiſtrates who gave thoſe games, together with the Emperor's conſent, were circumſtances that increaſed and perpetuated the evil. We ſhall ſee, under ſucceeding Emperors, not only Knights, but Senators, and even women, diſdain both the ſhame and danger attending thoſe combats, equally infamous and inhuman.

He takes off the injunction he had laid on Knights not to fight as Gladiators.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable occurrences Auguſtus's civil government affords during the time Tiberius was buſied in conducting the war againſt Pannonia and Germany.

Plancus and Silius were Conſuls for the year of Rome 764.

L. Mu-

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A.R. 764. L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.
A. C. 13. C. SILIUS.

UNDER theſe Conſuls Auguſtus was again continued in the Imperial power for ten years longer, the laſt prorogation expiring the end of this year. He likewiſe cauſed Tiberius to be continued Tribune, treating him in all reſpects as the perſon deſigned to ſucceed him. The year before, recommending Germanicus to the Senate, he at the ſame time recommended the Senate itſelf to Tiberius, as to the future head of the Empire. He made him take, in the Senate, in the Council, and every where, the pre-eminence over the Conſuls; ſhared with him the functions of Cenſor; and they finiſhed jointly the numbering of the Roman people, who amounted to four millions, one hundred and thirty thouſand citizens.

Lapis Ancyr.

Dio.

Druſus, ſon of Tiberius, was likewiſe promoted by Auguſtus. He was Quæſtor in the year of Rome 762, five years before the age preſcribed by law. This year, 764, he was appointed Conſul, to enter on the functions of that office three years after, without paſſing through the intermediate degrees of Edile and Prætor. Germanicus had enjoyed the ſame prerogatives. Thus Auguſtus, by heaping honours on Tiberius and his children, eſtabliſhed on a firm foundation the rights and power of him he deſigned to be his ſucceſſor. He did it juſt in time, for he died the next year, when two of his relations, Pompeius and Apuleius, were Conſuls.

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SEX. POMPEIUS. A.R. 765.
SEX. APULEIUS. A. C. 14.

AUGUSTUS's great age, and his weakneſs, had made the Romans very thoughtful for ſome time paſt; but their ideas were very different. Some flattered themſelves with a chimerical hope of ſeeing the old Republican liberty reſtored: many feared a civil war, whilſt others wiſhed it: the greater number was very buſy about the characters and diſpoſitions of the maſters they were like to have. Auguſtus grows infirm. Uneaſineſs of the Romans. *Tac. Ann.* I. 4.

Agrippa Poſthumus, whom they firſt thought of, as neareſt of kin to the Emperor, being his grandſon [b], was of a ſavage diſpoſition, and his temper ſower'd ſtill more by the ignominy of exile; nor had he the age and experience neceſſary to ſupport the weight of government. Tiberius was quite ripe of years, for he was paſt fifty, and had given proofs of his capacity in war: but they feared in him the pride and ruggedneſs hereditary in the Claudian family, and obſerved he had already given ſeveral ſtrong indications of cruelty, notwith-

[b] Trucem Agrippam, & ignominiâ accenſum, non ætate, non experientiâ, tantæ moli parem. Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, ſpectatum bello: ſed vetere atque inſitâ Claudiæ familiæ ſuperbiâ; multaque indicia ſævitiæ, quanquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc & prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice: congeſtos juveni conſulatus, triumphos: ne iis quidem annis quibus Rhodi ſpecie receſſûs exſulem egerit, aliquid quàm iram, & ſimulationem, & ſecretas libidines meditatum. Accedere matrem, muliebri impotentiâ. Serviendum feminæ, duobuſque inſuper adoleſcentibus, qui Rempublicam interim premant, quandoque diſtrahant. *Tac.*

ſtanding

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A.R. 765. A. C. 14. ſtanding all his care to conceal it: they added, that he had been brought up in the Imperial family from his infancy; that Conſulſhips and triumphs had prevented his wiſhes, even from his youth: that during the very years he had ſpent at Rhodes, maſking a real baniſhment under the appearance of a voluntary retirement, his black thoughts had dwelt on nothing but vengeance, diſſimulation, and ſecret debauchery: neither Livia, Germanicus, nor Druſus were forgot. *The deſpotic haughtineſs of the mother, ſaid they, joined to the vices of the ſon, will make us ſuffer all the rigours of ſervitude. We ſhall be ſlaves to a woman and to two ambitious youths, who will unite to cruſh the Republic, and then divide, to tear it to pieces.*

Livia is ſuſpected of having poiſoned Auguſtus. Uncertainty of what was reported on that ſubject.

In the mean time Auguſtus's health grew viſibly worſe, and ſome ſuſpected his wife to be the guilty cauſe; as if there was need of poiſon to kill a man in his ſeventy-ſixth year, and naturally of a very weak conſtitution. Dion Caſſius ſays, but mentions it only as a bare report, that Livia, knowing Auguſtus was fond of figs, poiſoned ſome whilſt they hung on the tree; and that gathering and eating the good ones herſelf, ſhe gave the Emperor the infected fruit.

As no crime is ſuppoſed to be committed gratis, reaſons are aſſigned for Livia's doing this; it is pretended ſhe was alarmed on account of Tiberius's ſucceſſion to the Empire. It is very true, authors of great weight ſay, that towards the end of Auguſtus's life, his tenderneſs revived for his grandſon Agrippa, a young Prince, not amiable indeed, but who had been convicted

Plin. VII. 45. *Tac. Ann.* I. 5. *Plut. de Garrul.* *Dio.*

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convicted of no real crime: that Auguſtus ſpoke of it to Fabius Maximus, complaining of the neceſſity he was under to make his wife's ſon his heir, whilſt there was one of his own blood living. What may give ſome room to doubt the truth of this ſtory, is the addition of a circumſtance no ways probable. Tacitus and Dion Caſſius ſay, Auguſtus went with Fabius to the iſle of Planaſia, where his unfortunate grandſon lived in exile; that the interview was very tender, and many tears ſhed on both ſides; and that, in conſequence of it, Agrippa's friends hoped to ſee him return to his grandfather's palace. Who can believe Auguſtus could go from Rome to an iſland near Corſica, and Livia not know it? for, according to my authors, ſhe never was informed of it but by an indiſcretion of Fabius, who revealed the ſecret to his wife Marcia, and ſhe told it Livia. A.R. 765. A. C. 14.

The inventors of this ſtory, whoever they were, do not drop it here. Livia, ſay they, picked a quarrel with her huſband Auguſtus for having concealed from her his deſigns in favour of Agrippa. "If you want, ſaid ſhe, to recall "your grandſon, why will you make me and "all my family odious to him you deſign to "be your ſucceſſor?" Auguſtus was greatly concerned to find his ſecret diſcovered; and when Fabius came to ſalute him next morning, wiſhing him *a good day*, a familiar expreſſion the Romans ſtill made uſe of, even to their maſter; the Emperor anſwered, "Farewell, "Fabius." The indiſcreet confidant underſtood perfectly well the meaning of that word, with which the ancients uſed to take their laſt

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A.R. 765. A. C. 14. leave of the dead, after closing them up in the tomb. Driven to despair, he immediately returned home, told his wife what had passed, and adding, he could not survive his breach of trust towards Augustus, killed himself. Marcia's grief was extreme at his funeral, exclaiming that she was the cause of her husband's death. Pliny closes this account by saying, Tiberius and Livia's designs gave Augustus great uneasiness.

The whole appears to me a very lame invention. Augustus makes a pitiful figure in it: the voyage to the isle of Planasia is visibly a fable, and Augustus's mistrust of Livia is fully refuted, as we shall soon see, by the dying words of that Emperor. However, I submit both the fact and my reflections to the reader's judgment; abiding myself by what is certain and averred.

Augustus conducts Tiberius, who was going to Illyria, as far as Beneventum; and tho' very ill amuses himself much in that journey.

Augustus's illness began by a weakness of the stomach and bowels. It took him as he was conducting Tiberius part of the way towards Illyrium, whither he was sent, either, as Velleius says, to confirm peace in a country he had conquered, or, as Tacitus gives us to understand, [a] that the provinces and troops might be accustomed to acknowledge him as successor to the Empire.

Suet. Aug. 93, 100. *Vell.* II. 123. *Tac. Ann.* I. 3.

Augustus went with him as far as Beneventum, and notwithstanding his illness, made it quite a journey of pleasure. He went along the delightful coast of Campania, and among the neighbouring islands. At Capræa he staid

[a] Omnes per exercitus ostentatur. *Tac.*

four

four days, taſting the ſweets of repoſe and quiet, and enjoying all ſorts of amuſements. As he paſſed in ſight of Puzzoli, and before the gulph that takes its name from that town, a ſhip from Alexandria arrived that moment. All the ſailors made a kind of rejoicing for Auguſtus, dreſſing themſelves in white garments, putting crowns on their heads, and burning incenſe: they loaded him with praiſes and bleſſings, crying out aloud, and repeating it ſeveral times, that they lived but through him; that to him they owed the ſafety of their navigation; that their liberty and fortunes were gifts due to his wiſdom and goodneſs. Theſe acclamations, ſo moving to a good Prince, rejoiced him much; and he gave every one that was with him forty pieces of gold, making them ſwear not to make any other uſe of that money, but to purchaſe goods out of the Alexandrian ſhip. A.R. 765. A. C. 14.

He took ſeveral little diverſions of this kind during his ſtay in Capræa. Among other things, he gave his whole court Roman togas, and Greek mantles, on condition the Greeks ſhould wear the toga, and the Romans the mantle: he was always preſent at the games and diverſions of the young people of the iſland, which was a Greek colony, and ſtill retained traces of its origin, in the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants. He treated too all the young people, permitting and even requiring them to divert themſelves freely, and be under no reſtraint on account of his being there; the treat was concluded by ſetting them a ſcrambling for the victuals and deſerts left on the

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A. R. 765. A. C. 14. tables. In short, every innocent diversion he could take was thought of, whether it were that he found himself grow weaker, and was willing to divert his illness, or that he only followed the sweetness of his natural turn to gaiety.

From Capræa he went to Naples, still more indisposed. He was, however, desirous to see the games instituted to his honour in that city every five years, and staid from the beginning to the end of them. Thence he continued his journey as far as he had proposed to go, which was to Beneventum, where Augustus took leave of Tiberius.

He is stopped at Nola by the violence of his disorder. Tiberius returns.

Whilst Augustus was returning towards Rome, his illness increased daily, and at last became so violent he could not go beyond Nola: there he was forced to take to his bed. Livia immediately dispatched a courier to her son, who had hardly had time to reach Illyria. Tiberius returned with all expedition; and, if we believe Velleius and Suetonius, had a long and serious conference with Augustus. Tacitus says it is not certain whether he found him alive: for all the roads were strictly guarded by Livia's order, and no news transpired but such as she pleased.

Augustus dies.

Augustus was not long sick in bed, but quietly expected death. The last day of his life, after enquiring whether the condition he was in did not already begin to cause some disturbance abroad, he ordered a looking-glass to be brought him, his hair to be dressed, and something to be done that his cheeks might not

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appear ſo much fallen in. Then [a] calling in his friends, and ſeeing them round his bed, he aſked them, whether they did not think he had acted his part pretty well in the comedy of human life, and immediately added in a Greek verſe, with which their plays were generally ended; "Clap hands, and all applaud with joy." After this comic farewell, he ordered every body to go out, and died in Livia's arms, ſaying to her, "Livia [b], farewell, do not forget "a huſband who has loved you tenderly." He had always wiſhed to die a gentle death; and the ſame good fortune he had had all his life, did not forſake him even in death. A.R. 765. A. C. 14.

He died at Nola the nineteenth day of Auguſt, in the ſame chamber where his father Octavius died. He was ſeventy-ſix years old, wanting thirty-five days, being born the twenty-ſecond of September, in the year of Rome 689, or rather, if we conſider the year of confuſion that preceded the reformation of the Calendar by Cæſar, which conſiſted of four hundred forty-five days, we ſhall find he was ſomewhat more than ſeventy-ſix when he died. His age.

The duration of his power, if reckoned from the time of the Triumvirate, of which he took poſſeſſion the twenty-ſeventh of November, in the year of Rome 709, was fifty-five years and Duration of his reign.

[a] Amicos admiſſos percunctatus, *Ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commodè tranſegiſſe*, adjecit & clauſalem,

Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς πτυπήσατε. *Suet.*

[b] Livia, conjugii noſtri memor vive & vale.

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A.R.765. A. C. 14. nine months, leſs ſome days. If from the battle of Actium, by which he became ſole maſter of the world, that battle being fought the ſecond of September 721, Auguſtus will then have enjoyed the ſovereign power near forty-four years. But, as we have already obſerved, the true * time of his becoming Emperor was the ſeventh of January, in the year of his ſeventh Conſulſhip, which was the 725th of Rome; and, according to that, we may ſay he governed as Prince and Emperor forty years, ſeven months and thirteen days. All the reſt was manifeſt uſurpation and tyranny.

* *That epoch is ſo fixed in an inſcription found at Narbonne, and quoted by Lipſius in his Commentaries on Tacitus. l. I. c. 9.*

SECT.

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SECT. II.

AUGUSTUS the real founder of the Roman monarchy. View of his political and private conduct. His talents for war too much slighted by Antony. His maxim concerning hazardous wars. He was not greedy after conquests. His firmness in maintaining military discipline. The distinction he made between two kinds of rewards. His wisdom in his plan of government. His views for the public good included every part of the state. Splendor and decency restored the Senate. And the order of Knights. His behaviour towards the people a mixture of condescension and firmness. His care to preserve the Roman blood pure and without mixture: and decency even in dress. The city embellished. Italy restored to a flourishing condition. The provinces made happy. The kings, allies of the Empire, protected. Laws. Roads. Posts and couriers. Administration of justice. He administers it himself. Lenity of his decisions. Want of sincerity and uprightness in the motives to such laudable actions. Augustus's private conduct. His incontinence. Lesson given him by Arthenodorus on that subject. Repast of the twelve Deities. Augustus's sobriety and frugality. His taste for simplicity in all his expences. His play, modest and noble. He was a good and faithful friend. A tender, but unfortunate father: a good brother, and a good husband. His indulgence without weakness towards his freemen and slaves. Protects learn-

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ing. Was himſelf a man of letters. His taſte for a natural turn, and clearneſs of expreſſion. He was weak enough to be ſuperſtitious. Prudence was his prevailing characteriſtic. His perſon.

Auguſtus the real founder of the Roman monarchy.

AUGUSTUS was moſt certainly the author and founder of the monarchical government that ſubſiſted in Rome after his time. The Dictator Cæſar had ſhewn him how to ſeize on the ſovereign power: but he was indebted to himſelf only for knowing how to make uſe of it, and for that wiſe medium, a mixture of monarchy and republic, which [a] alone could ſuit men incapable of bearing, as Tacitus makes Galba ſay long after, either entire liberty or entire ſervitude. The length of his life afforded him the means of making his new plan of government take root; and by forty years quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion, he gave it ſuch ſtrength and credit as made it laſt as long as the nation. Auguſtus's firſt ſucceſſors were tyrants, who made an exceſſive abuſe of their power, but yet without altering the foundation and eſſential conſtitution of the government; and plain traces of it ſtill ſubſiſted down to the Emperors that reigned at Conſtantinople.

We cannot therefore too thoroughly ſtudy the turn of mind and maxims of a Prince, who was the original and model of all the Roman Emperors: a model copied by the good, and claimed even by the bad: for which reaſon I

[a] Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tac. Hiſt.* I. 16.

apprehend

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apprehend I ought, even at the hazard of ſome repetitions, after preſenting the reader with a view of the events of Auguſtus's reign in the order they happened as to time, reſume the different parts of his political and private conduct, according to the nature of the objects to which they relate. We ſhall there ſee, not real virtues, (for how ſhould they be expected from a cunning artful man, who laughed at every thing, and looked on human life only as a farce?) but actions and views laudable in themſelves, and as uſeful to the ſtate as they would have been eſtimable in the Prince, had he joined to them a pure motive and upright intention.

View of his political and private conduct.

I ſhall begin with war, which I own was not the part he excelled in; though I do not think myſelf obliged to underſtand according to the ſtrict ſenſe of the letter, as Abbé de St. Real has done, the bitter reproaches and injurious ſpeeches, hatred and envy towards a too happy rival, dictated to Antony. For how can fear and cowardice in battle be allied to the moſt intrepid courage and undaunted reſolution that ever man had in buſineſs? I can hardly think it poſſible to find a bolder undertaking than Octavius's was, when he ſet up for heir to Cæſar, and to be his avenger. After the bloody death of his great uncle, far from being diſheartened by ſo dreadful a blow, then but a young man of nineteen, he ventured to take a name odious to the Republican party, and which even the friends to his family looked upon with a jealous eye. And this bold, this dangerous ſtep he took of his own accord, not only with-

His talents for war too much ſlighted by Antony.

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out being encouraged by any, but even againſt the will of his mother and father-in-law, extremely alarmed at the danger he was running into. A coward ſoul never could be capable of ſuch a reſolution.

And where, after all, are the proofs of his want of courage in war? He was victorious in five civil wars, in which he was always at the head of his armies. In the war againſt the Dalmatians, which he conducted in perſon, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour. If he did not meet the ſame ſucceſs in the Cantabrian war, it may be imputed to his health, then in a deplorable ſtate.

His maxim concerning hazardous wars. *Suet. Aug.* 25.

It is very true, he never was inclined to war, but when it was neceſſary: he was not for undertaking any, but where the advantages that probably might reſult from it, were conſiderably greater than the loſs that might be feared; and uſed to compare [a] thoſe who made no difficulty of purchaſing ſmall advantages by running great riſks, to a man fiſhing with a golden hook, the loſs of which, if the line chanced to break, was more than all the fiſh he could hope to catch, could make amends for.

It is likewiſe true, that he made more conqueſts abroad by his Lieutenants than himſelf. Agrippa entirely ſubdued the Cantabrians: Meſſala put the finiſhing hand to the peace of Aquitania, which Cæſar had not ſo far ſubdued but they attempted to ſtir again. Druſus

[a] Minima commoda non minimo ſectantes diſcrimine ſimiles ajebat eſſe aureo hamo piſcantibus, cujus abrupti damnum nullâ capturâ penſari poſſet.

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and Tiberius conquered the Rheti and Vindelici. The ſame Druſus made himſelf famous by his great exploits in Germany; and the conqueſt of all Illyria was the work of Tiberius. Auguſtus's greateſt glory, as to conqueſts, was, to know how not to be greedy of them. He even laid down his way of thinking on that head as a maxim of ſtate, and adviſed his ſucceſſors not to endeavour to extend the limits of an empire already too great, and which would be the more difficult to govern, the more it was enlarged.

He war not greedy of conqueſts. *Tac. Ann.* I. 11. *Dio.*

In all this I ſee proofs of prudence, and not of cowardice: but men are always trying to find out ſome blemiſh in thoſe they are forced to praiſe: and if a moſt conſummate prudence forces them to pay an unwilling tribute of admiration, they have no other way to be revenged, but by imputing it to want of courage.

The ſtrictneſs with which Auguſtus kept up the military diſcipline, is another mark of a reſolute and elevated ſoul. The reader may remember how, during the civil wars, allying addreſs with reſolution, he ſtopped ſeditions, by ſo much the more dangerous, as the ſoldier knew perfectly well what reaſons the General had for ſparing him. From the time of his ſettling peace and good order in the Empire, he behaved with more firmneſs towards the troops.

His firmneſs in maintaining military diſcipline.

He granted leave of abſence, but with great difficulty: and even his lieutenants, that is to ſay, thoſe who commanded his armies, did not find it eaſy to obtain leave to ſpend the winter in Rome. Whole cohorts that had fled from the enemy were ſeverely puniſhed by his order: and

Suet. Aug. 24, 25.

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and after decimating them, barley was given inſtead of wheat to ſuch as fortune had favoured with life. Captains, as well as ſimple ſoldiers, were equally puniſhed with death if they left their poſts. For lighter faults, he revived certain old military puniſhments, that had been ſome time diſuſed. When he harangued the ſoldiers, he did not call them *comrades*, according to the cuſtom that then began to be introduced, and which afterwards prevailed, but only *ſoldiers*, as in the old Republican times; and would have his ſons, and ſons-in-law, do the ſame when they commanded the armies.

The diſtinction he made between two kinds of rewards.

He was cautious however not to carry his ſeverities too far; and was much better pleaſed to reward than puniſh. He diſtinguiſhed between thoſe rewards. Such as carried with them a profit by the richneſs of the matter, as gorgets, bracelets of gold or ſilver, he gave liberally; but was very ſparing of thoſe that were purely honorary, as mural and civic crowns, and other ſuch like. He would have them be firſt well merited; and favour or intereſt had no ſhare in his diſtribution of them; for private ſoldiers often received thoſe noble decorations from him. It was however ſo far his intereſt to keep well with the chief citizens of the Republic, that he ſometimes thought it prudent to recede from the ſeverity of his maxim with regard to triumphs. Suetonius ſays he granted them to above thirty Generals, and the ornaments of triumph to a much greater number.

Suet. Aug. 38.

Such is, pretty nearly, the idea we may form to ourſelves of Auguſtus's character and conduct, ſo far as they relate to war: but the wiſ-

dom

dom of that great Prince was moſt conſpicuous in his civil government.

Nothing could be better concerted than the ſyſtem he purſued to make his authority legal, which at firſt was only tyrannical. The precaution he took to leave the Senate and people a part of the public power, was well imagined to ſecure his own, doubtleſs not the leaſt ſhare. His wiſdom in his plan of government.

But if that [a] mixt form of government was uſeful to the Prince, it was not leſs ſo to the nation itſelf, who by it preſerved the advantages of liberty, joined to tranquility and good order: for the Romans, equally ſecured from the tumultuous licentiouſneſs of a Democracy, and the vexations of a tyrannical power, enjoyed a juſt degree of liberty under a monarchy they could fear nothing from, having a ſovereign without being ſlaves; and taſting the ſweets of a popular ſtate, without the deadly conſequences of diſſentions. In that light I now conſider Auguſtus's government. I ſhall likewiſe conſider the uſe that Prince made of his authority, for the good of his ſubjects. I have already mentioned ſeveral things relating to that in different parts of this work. The reader may perhaps not be diſpleaſed to ſee the whole collected in one view.

I ſhall obſerve then, that after the civil wars, being ſole head of the Republic, he ſet about His views for the public good included every part of the ſtate.

[a] Τὴν μοναρχίαν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μίξας τόν τε ἐλεύθερον σφίσιν ἐτήρησε, καὶ τὸ κοσμιον, τό, τε ἀσφαλὲς προσπαρεσκεύασεν ὥς· ἔξω μὲν τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ θράσους, ἔξω δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν ὕβρεων ὄντας ἐλευθερίας σώφρονι καὶ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀδείας, βασιλευομένους τε ἄνευ δουλείας, καὶ δημοκρατουμένους ἄνευ διχοστασίας. *Dio. l.* LVI.

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to govern it like a lawful Prince: he found every part in the utmoſt confuſion. The reform he made extended to every order, Senate, Knights and people. He would have the city, Italy and the Provinces ſenſible how much their condition was better under his adminiſtration, and he ſucceeded perfectly in that great and noble plan.

Splendor and decency reſtored the Senate. *Suet. Aug.* 35. 38.

I have ſaid with what zeal and perſeverance he laboured, notwithſtanding difficulties and even dangers, to reſtore decency and ſplendor to the Senate, abaſed by the great number and unworthineſs of its members. He granted the children of Senators new privileges, or confirmed them in their old. He made it his pleaſure, and thought it his duty to advance them. In general he favoured the nobility. Far from being infected with that mean jealouſy that often induces new Sovereigns to ſtudy how to humble old families, and raiſe only their own creatures, Auguſtus, at the ſame time that he protected and rewarded merit, tho' without birth, was not at all terrified when he found it joined to nobility of blood. His liberalities revived and ſupported old families ready to drop and be extinguiſhed thro' indigence: and the liſt of Conſuls under his reign is in general compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious names of the Republic.

Tac. Ann. II. 37. *Suet. Aug.* 41.

And the order of Knights. *Suet. Aug.* 38, 39, 40.

The order of Knights was called the nurſery of the Senate, and was the ſecond rank in the ſtate in point of dignity. Auguſtus, deſirous to reſtore that order to its former luſtre, reviewed it often, and revived the cuſtom, long ſince laid aſide, of the ſolemn pomp in which the Knights, mounting the horſes the Repub-

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lic kept for them, cloathed in purple robes, wearing an olive crown, and the badges of honour each had acquired in battle, marched in ceremony, compoſing a body of four or five thouſand, from the temple of Mars or the temple of Honour, out at the gate Collina, to the temple of Caſtor in the Forum.

That indeed was a ſhew fit only to amuſe the multitude: but Auguſtus had more ſolid views; for, making the Senate appoint ten Aſſeſſors, he obliged all the Knights to give an account of their lives and conduct: of thoſe in whom he found faults deſerving reproof, ſome were condemned to judiciary penalties, others branded with ignominy; but moſt were quit for a ſevere reprimand: the mildeſt cenſure was giving them a billet, in which was wrote what was thought moſt reprehenſible in them, and they were ordered to read it to themſelves inſtantly, in the Emperor's preſence.

This ſeverity towards the guilty was tempered by Auguſtus's indulgence towards thoſe that the misfortunes of the times, more than their own faults, excluded from the order of Knights. As ſeveral had been ruined by the civil wars, and were not poſſeſſed of the value of the four hundred thouſand ſeſterces required by law, they could not rank with their old brother Knights at public ſhews and entertainments. Auguſtus gave them leave to rank as before: and diſpenſed from the rigour of the law, thoſe who, themſelves, or their fathers, had been worth the ſum required to qualify them to be Roman Knights.

As

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His behaviour towards the people a mixture of condescension and firmness.

As to what concerns the people, I have already observed what care Augustus took to amuse them with shews and diversions, and to gain their affection by gratifications either of corn or money. In that he consulted his own interest, but still with a view to the public welfare. At the same time that he secured by his liberalities the love of a restless multitude accustomed to live in the city at the expence of the Republic, he took particular care to protect labourers and traders, the resource and support of the state. Nor did he so far indulge that multitude in their madness after shews and plays, as not to moderate a little the inhuman combats of gladiators: he would no longer suffer those unfortunate wretches to be forced to fight till one was dead, but was willing to leave them hopes of coming off from those bloody games without being obliged to kill or be killed.

Suet. Aug. 42.

His care to preserve the Roman blood pure and without mixture.

Suet. Aug. 40.

So great was his zeal for the glory of the nation, that he was jealous of preserving the Roman blood pure and unmixed, by alliances with strangers or slaves; for which reason he was very reserved in granting the rights of Burgess. Tiberius having asked it for a Greek that was attached to him, "I shall not grant what you "desire, answered he, until I have been con-"vinced from your own mouth of the just-"ness of the reasons on which you ground "your request." Livia wanted to obtain the same favour for a tributary Gaul. Augustus refused making him a Burgess, but offered to exempt him from the tribute, chusing rather, said

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ſaid he, to leſſen the revenue, than fully the ſplendor of the title of Roman citizen.

From time immemorial ſlaves made free by Roman citizens became citizens themſelves. Auguſtus would not attempt to aboliſh a cuſtom ſo long ſtanding: but made it more difficult to free a ſlave by the condition and clauſes he annexed to it; and moreover declared every ſlave who had been put in irons, or to the rack, for ever incapable of acquiring a right of Burgeſſy in Rome, even tho' he ſhould be made free in the fulleſt and moſt regular manner.

And decency even in dreſs.

Decency even in the Roman dreſs was a thing that touched him nearly. He could not bear to ſee the toga fall into diſrepute, for the common people had began hardly to wear it at all, and the better ſort were got into a faſhion of wearing over it a kind of ſurtout that hid it. Seeing one day a great many citizens together dreſſed in that manner, he repeated with indignation this line of Virgil:

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
Æneid. l. 236.

and ordered the Ediles not to ſuffer any citizen to appear either in the Circus or Forum dreſſed otherwiſe than in the toga, without any other garment over it. Convenience prevailed over his prohibitions, and ſurtouts became the general faſhion.

The city embelliſhed.

The city of Rome put on quite a new face under Auguſtus. The old Romans had ſtudied more how to make it powerful by their conqueſts, than to embelliſh and adorn it. Auguſtus

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Suet. Aug. 29, 30. guſtus ſpared nothing to give it a magnificence worthy the capital of the univerſe. A particular account of all the buildings he erected or repaired, either himſelf, or his friends, and other great men of Rome, after his example, and at his deſire, would be tedious and but little intereſting; and I have already mentioned the moſt famous.

Plin. xxxvi. 9 & 10. But I cannot omit here the two obeliſks he brought from Egypt, and ſet up, one in the great Circus, and the other in the Campus Martius. On the top of the latter was a globe that ſerved for gnomon to a ſun-dial, traced on the ground with wondrous art. The dial was of no uſe ſixty years after, having probably been ſpoilt by ſome earthquake. The obeliſk itſelf is no longer ſubſiſting, or is buried under ruins. But the obeliſk of the great Circus was found, dug up, and placed by Sixtus Quintus before the church of St. Mary *del popolo*. It is remarkable that thoſe obeliſks were erected by the ancient kings of Egypt, and conſequently have laſted a prodigious time. "It became "the Egyptians only, ſays M. Boſſuet, to erect "monuments to poſterity. The Egyptian Hiſt. Univ. "obeliſks * are even now, by their height and "beauty, the chief ornament of Rome: and "the Roman power deſpairing ever to equal "them, thought it ſufficient for their gran-"deur to borrow the monuments of their "Kings."

* *Beſides that we have been ſpeaking of, there is another at Rome, brought from Egypt by Caligula's order, and erected by Sixtus Quintus in the great ſquare of St. Peter.*

Auguſtus

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Auguſtus provided for the convenience of the inhabitants of Rome, by the water Agrippa brought into the city from all parts, at an immenſe expence: and for their ſafety, by the patroles or watch, he inſtituted both to prevent robberies and fires, to which Rome was very liable. The Tiber too was a dreadful ſcourge by its inundations; Auguſtus cauſed the bed of that river to be cleanſed and widened; and, not ſatisfied with remedying the preſent evil, among other employments of his creating, he appointed Inſpectors or Superviſors over the bed of the Tiber, whoſe buſineſs it was to prevent as much as poſſible all inconveniences, and to make the moſt of every advantage that river could afford the city. In ſhort, that it might neither be over-burthened by the number, nor diſturbed by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, he would not let all his guards be quartered in it, but had only three cohorts, or three thouſand men there at a time. The other cohorts were quartered in the neighbouring towns.

Suet. Aug. 37.

49.

Italy flouriſhed likewiſe by Auguſtus's care. He peopled it anew with the help of twenty-eight colonies which he ſettled there. He adorned ſeveral cities with fine buildings, and aſſigned them public revenues for their common expences. As the inhabitants of all the towns of Italy were deemed citizens of Rome, he would have them enjoy the privileges of it, at leaſt the heads of them, in all nominations to magiſtracies in Rome. When the time of meeting for elections drew near, the Senators of colonies and corporation towns ſent their votes, ſealed up, to Rome, and due regard was

Italy reſtored to a flouriſhing condition. *Suet. Aug.* 46.

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paid to them. Studious to ſupport good families, and to encourage the encreaſe of the people, he readily received into the cavalry lads born of honeſt parents, who brought a recommendation from the magiſtrates of their cantons: and in every town he paſſed thro' when he took his circuits, fathers of families that preſented him ſeveral children of both ſexes, received from him as many thouſand ſeſterces as they had ſons or daughters.

The provinces made happy.

I have already obſerved that the provinces* thought themſelves happy in the change of government under Auguſtus: inſtead of a multitude of maſters they had but one. Formerly torn to pieces by factions of the great, a prey to the avarice of their governors, in vain they reclaimed the laws: the remedy they might have had from them was cut off by violence, bribery or intereſt. But now they were protected by the Emperor, who made them taſte the ſweets of peace; kept within due bounds the Governors he ſet over them; and gave the laws their full force.

Suet. Aug. 47.

To theſe general and common benefits Auguſtus added particular ones for certain towns and provinces, according to the nature of their neceſſities. He eaſed ſuch as were overloaded with public debts, under which they were ſinking; or that had been afflicted by dearth or earthquakes. If any had deſerved well from the Re-

* Neque Provinciæ illum rerum ſtatum abnuebant, ſuſpecto Senatûs populique Imperio ob certamina principum, & avaritiam magiſtratuum: invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, poſtremò pecuniâ turbabantur. *Tac. Ann.* l. 2.

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public, he rewarded them, granting them either the privileges the Latins had enjoyed before they became Roman citizens, or even the right of Burgeſſes. There was no one province of that vaſt Empire which he did not viſit, Sardinia and Africa excepted, and even there he did intend to go, after he had conquered Pompey, but was prevented by ſtorms; and never had another opportunity, or motive, to take that voyage.

The Kings, allies of the Empire, protected.

He conſidered the Kings his allies as members, in ſome meaſure, of the Empire, and as deſerving in that ſenſe his care and protection. *Suet. Aug.* 48. He ſtudied to unite them by alliances, and to preſerve peace in their families: Herod was a great example of it. He cauſed ſeveral of their children to be brought up with his own; and, where Kings were minors, or their reaſon and intellects impaired by age, he appointed tutors and regents to aſſiſt them to govern their ſtates.

Laws.

Auguſtus's care and vigilance, as may be ſeen, extended to all. We have a farther proof of it in the laws he enacted to regulate the manners of the people, and baniſh ſundry abuſes: in the care he took to connect and cement all the parts of that immenſe extent of territories and people under his government: to facilitate their commerce, by making roads from the center of Rome to the extremities of the Empire; one of the fineſt monuments of the Roman magnificence.

Roads.

Poſts and Couriers. *Suet. Aug.* 49.

The eſtabliſhment of poſts and couriers was likewiſe a uſeful thing, tho' reſtrained to affairs of ſtate, and the Emperor's own uſe, who by that means was exactly informed of all that paſſed in the provinces. But

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Adminiſtration of juſtice. what was by no means the leaſt laudable part of Auguſtus's government, was the pains he took to have juſtice duly adminiſtred; a great and moſt eſſential duty in a ſovereign.

Suet. Aug. 32, 33. He increaſed the body of judges, and multiplied their days of ſitting to expedite ſuits. He divided all the provinces between a certain number of perſons of conſular dignity, before whom an appeal ſhould lie in all cauſes firſt judged in any particular province. He went farther; himſelf adminiſtred juſtice with a ſurpriſing aſſiduity, ſitting often till night: even the illneſſes he was often troubled with did not prevent him: he was carried to the Tribunal in a litter, or heard and determined cauſes in his bed: whether at Rome, or on a journey, he ſtill performed that function, and perſiſted in it to his greateſt old age; for during the days that immediately preceded his laſt departure from Rome, he determined a great number of cauſes.

He adminiſters it himſelf.

Lenity of his deciſions. *Suet. Aug.* 33. To aſſiduity Auguſtus joined lenity in his deciſions, being ſenſible clemency always does honour to a Prince, and that even criminals ſhould find ſome advantage in being judged by their Sovereign himſelf. Suetonius records two inſtances of it. A ſon was accuſed before him of parricide, and the crime was proved. Auguſtus was willing to ſpare him at leaſt the horror of the puniſhment inflicted by law in ſuch caſes, which was to be put into a ſack with a viper and a dog, and ſo thrown into the ſea: but as none were condemned to that puniſhment but ſuch as were convicted on their own confeſſion, he examined the

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the criminal in this manner: "Thou certainly "couldſt not kill thy father." On another occaſion, where a forged will was the caſe, all that had ſigned as witneſſes to make it valid, were liable to the puniſhment preſcribed by law: however, Auguſtus made a diſtinction: and beſides the billets for abſolution and condemnation, he cauſed a third to be given thoſe who ſate as joint judges with him, to pardon ſuch as ſhould prove they had been induced to ſign by fraud or error.

Want of ſincerity and uprightneſs in the motives to ſuch laudable actions.

An adminiſtration ſo laudable in all its parts, wanted nothing to make it perfect but noble and diſintereſted motives: but Auguſtus's character was ſuch a compoſition of diſguiſe and diſſimulation, as gives us room to think the good he did to others was purely for his own ſake: he knew how to give the fineſt turns to what in reality was calculated entirely for his own grandeur and elevation; and with wonderful dexterity could put on the outſide ſhew of virtues which in fact were not in him.

We have a remarkable inſtance of this in the ſtrong expreſſions he conſtantly made uſe of whenever he pretended to want to abdicate the ſovereign power, whilſt at the ſame time it was the fartheſt from his thoughts. "Auguſtus, "ſays Seneca, was always begging for repoſe, "and leave to lay down the weight of govern- "ment: the drift of all his diſcourſes was to "wiſh for the ſweets of retirement. In a letter "he wrote the Senate, promiſing his receſs "from buſineſs ſhould not be an indulgence "to idleneſs, nor degenerate from the glory of "his former conduct, he adds theſe very words:

Sen. de Brev. Vitæ. c. 5.

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[a] *I know these kind of projects are better done than talked of: but so earnestly do I wish for that state, that to comfort myself, that I cannot yet attain it, I have endeavoured to anticipate the enjoyment of it in thought.* Seneca relates this as spoken seriously and in earnest: and perhaps he thought it so. But if we appeal to facts, and observe, that after forty years enjoyment of the sovereign authority, Augustus, then seventy-five years old, still caused that power to be continued him for ten years more: if we reflect on the care he took always to have props to help to support his rule, and with that view promoted and raised to honours successively Marcellus, Agrippa, the two Cæsars his sons by adoption, and last of all Tiberius; who but must see this fine talk was only hypocrisy; and that, to make use of his own expression, he acted a farce in that, as in every thing else.

Augustus's private conduct. His incontinence. *Suet. Aug.* 63. 69. 71.

Having considered Augustus as Emperor, it remains to speak of his conduct in private life, in which we shall find great beauties, with only one blemish, his incontinence. Antony and others of his enemies accused him of not having been over chaste in his youth; but their accusations were destitute of proofs, and in Suetonius's opinion are refuted by the aversion he always expressed for those unnatural crimes, then so frequent among the Romans. With women indeed his incontinence is notorious and averred: even Livia was thought his con-

[a] Sed ista fieri speciosius quàm promitti possunt. Me tamen cupido temporis optatissimi mihi provexit, ut, quoniam rerum lætitia moratur adhuc, præciperem aliquid voluptatis ex verborum dulcedine.

fidante

fidante in thoſe affairs, and it has been ſaid was complaiſant enough to ſeek miſtreſſes for him herſelf. It is remarkable, that even on thoſe occaſions, where pleaſure is generally the object aimed at, Auguſtus could not lay aſide his cunning and fineſſe, but would intrigue with other mens wives on purpoſe to try to find out their huſbands ſecrets, and diſcover if any plot or ſedition was carrying on.

Zonaras, copying Dion Caſſius as uſual, ſays, Auguſtus was greatly reformed in that reſpect by a ſtrong leſſon from Athenodorus of Tarſus, of whoſe freedom I have already given an inſtance that does equal honour to the Philoſopher and the Emperor. That which I am going to mention is ſtill more bold.

Leſſon given him by Athenodorus on that ſubject. *Zonaras, l.* x. *Dio. l.* LVI.

The women Auguſtus wanted to have, uſed to be brought in a cloſe litter into his bed-chamber. Happening to take a liking to the wife of a particular friend of Athenodorus, he ſent for her juſt when that Philoſopher chanced to be at his friend's houſe: the huſband and wife were in the utmoſt conſternation, but had not courage to refuſe. The Philoſopher deſired they would let him deliver them from the difficulty they were in; and dreſſing himſelf in the lady's cloaths, when the litter came, got in inſtead of her, and was carried into the Emperor's chamber. Auguſtus lifting up the curtain was greatly ſurprized to ſee Athenodorus, whoſe virtue he reſpected, ruſh out with a naked ſword in his hand: "How! Cæſar, ſaid the Philo- "ſopher, are you not afraid this ſtratagem, "which I make an innocent uſe of, may by "ſome other be thought of to take away your

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"life?" Auguſtus put a favourable conſtruction on Athenodorus's freedom, and was warned, it is ſaid, by the reproof. But if he did reform it muſt have been very late, and when he was old; for Suetonius, who excuſes, and even praiſes him as much as he can, ſays nothing of that.

Repaſt of the twelve deities, 70.

Hiſtory does not tax him with any exceſs at table, one entertainment excepted; which was called the Repaſt of the twelve Deities; becauſe the twelve gueſts that were invited, ſix men and ſix women, had decked themſelves with the ornaments and attributes of the twelve principal deities of Olympus. Auguſtus, or rather Octavius, for this happened when he was young, repreſented Apollo: but his youth is a bad excuſe for an impious and ſacrilegious debauchery; complained of with ſo much the more reaſon, as the city was at that very time afflicted with famine: and accordingly the mutinous *mob* cried out next day, "The gods had eat up all "the corn; and that Octavius was indeed "Apollo, but Apollo the executioner;" for Apollo was worſhipped under that odd name in one part of the city.

Auguſtus's ſobriety and temperance. 72. 74. 76. 77.

It is however agreed on all ſides, that he may juſtly be propoſed as a model of ſobriety and temperance; and by that means it was that, with a very puny conſtitution, he attained an age that the moſt robuſt do not very often reach. He eat little, and generally plain things: ſeldom drank more than a pint of wine at a meal, and generally ſpeaking not ſo much. His table was plain and ſimple, except on holidays or days of great ceremony. He invited his friends

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friends and citizens of diſtinction every day, and always took care freedom and gaiety ſhould crown the entertainment. Himſelf would eat very ſparingly, and ſometimes not at all, having no fixt hour for his meals, but taking them when his appetite ſerved, and not elſe; ſo that his friends often ſate down to table without him, and he dined or ſupped before or after them, as he thought it beſt ſuited his health.

His taſte for ſimplicity in all his expences. 73.

The ſame ſimplicity prevailed in all his expences: part of his furniture was ſtill remaining in Suetonius's time, and that author proteſts they hardly equalled the elegance of what a rich private man would have had. He wore no cloaths, as I have before ſaid, but what were ſpun by his wife, ſiſter, daughter, or grand-daughters. His palace in Rome was neither vaſt nor ſplendid: not a marble pillar, nor a piece of marble pavement was to be ſeen in it: for forty years that he lived in it, he kept the ſame apartment winter and ſummer. If he wanted to write or ſtudy, and not be interrupted, he had a cloſet above ſtairs to which he retired, or elſe went to ſome one of his freemen's that had a houſe in the ſuburbs; and when he was ſick, which is very remarkable, he was carried to Mecænas's. 72.

Great magnificent country-houſes diſpleaſed him; and he ordered a very fine one, that his grand-daughter Julia had built at a vaſt expence, to be pulled down to the ground. His own were modeſt; he ſtudied leſs to adorn them with pictures and ſtatues, than to make them convenient and agreeable by portico's, groves, and walks. The halls and cloſets were

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ornamented with natural curiosities or monuments of antiquity. Suetonius mentions as an example still subsisting at Capræa, when he wrote, the armour of ancient heroes, and vast bones of sea monsters, which the vulgar took for giants bones.

His play modest and noble. *Suet. Aug.* 71.

He has been taxed with being addicted to gaming; and we find in Suetonius a spightful epigram alluding to it, and written at the time of the Sicilian war with Pompey. The purport of it is, [b] "after being twice beat at sea, "Octavius lost his fleet; not to be always on "the losing side, but have a chance of being "once conqueror, he now plays perpetually "at dice." Their critisms on that score gave him no uneasiness; and it must be owned, nothing but the utmost ill-nature could find fault with his play: when he played it was for amusement only, and for very trifles, compared to his rank and fortune; and his behaviour was always noble and generous.

This plainly appears from some fragments of letters of his preserved by Suetonius, one of which I shall here give a translation of. It was to Tiberius he wrote in these terms: "My "dear Tiberius, we have passed the feasts of "Minerva very agreeably, for we have play'd "every day, and pretty high: your brother "was almost out of his wits. Upon the whole "however he has not lost much: he set out "badly, but by degrees licked himself whole. "For my part I have lost twenty thousand ses-

[b] Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

"sterces;

" ſterces; but that was owing to my being ex-
" ceſſively liberal, as I always am: for if I had
" made them pay me exactly, and had kept
" what I gave away, I ſhould have been fifty
" thouſand ſeſterces gainer. But I don't re-
" pent it, for my generoſity will make a god
" of me by and by."

This ſimple narrative is a plain proof that even his play afforded Auguſtus opportunities of being generous. But another thing to be obſerved is, that according to their rate of gaming, to have won fifty thouſand ſeſterces in the five days that the feaſts of Minerva laſted, would have been thought great winning. Now fifty thouſand ſeſterces are equal to four hundred pounds of our money. Such play could ſurely never hurt the finances of a Roman Emperor, nor ruin thoſe that played with him.

He was a good and faithful friend. *Suet. Aug.* 66.

One of Auguſtus's moſt eſtimable qualities was, that he was a good and faithful friend. He did not eaſily contract a friendſhip; but once formed, he did not break it for ſlight cauſes. Of all that had any ſhare in his favour, we ſhall hardly find any but Salvidienus and Cornelius Gallus, whoſe end was bad; and they moſt juſtly drew it on themſelves. As to the reſt, he not only rewarded their virtues and ſervices, but likewiſe excuſed their faults; and by ſo judicious a conduct deſerved to have true friends: a happineſs few Sovereigns can boaſt. The moſt illuſtrious of them were, as every one knows, Agrippa and Mecænas: great men, whoſe ſuperior merit does honour to Auguſtus's diſcernment. If any cloud, any coolneſs, intervened between him and thoſe two incompa-

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rable friends, it muſt be imputed to the frailty of human virtue: but there never was any rupture between them.

As he loved ſincerely, ſo he would be loved again; and it was eaſy to perceive how ſenſible he was of every mark of affection or indifference from his friends. It was cuſtomary among the Romans, even more than it is with us, to leave by will ſomething as a legacy to thoſe they eſteemed, at the ſame time mentioning them with eſteem and affection. Auguſtus was always curious to ſee the wills of his friends, and would diſſemble neither his pleaſure nor diſſatisfaction, according as he thought himſelf well or ill treated by them. Not that he was ſwayed by intereſt, for he never would receive a legacy left by one he did not know: and if the teſtator that made him a preſent left any children, Auguſtus always gave them immediately, if they were of age, the legacy that was left him: if they were not, he waited till they were, and then paid it them with the intereſt. It was friendſhip, it was the heart he wanted; and ſurely ſuch ſentiments are moſt noble and generous.

A tender, but unfortunate father. A good brother, and a good huſband.

His love towards his family and children was croſſed by the premature death of ſome, and the unworthineſs of others, perhaps of all. I except Agrippina, wife to Germanicus, who alone proved herſelf the worthy offſpring of Auguſtus and Agrippa, and whom he ſettled in the greateſt manner he could, ſo ſoon as he found circumſtances would not permit him to make her huſband Emperor. His inviolable friendſhip for Octavia proves him a good brother:

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ther: and in one ſenſe it may be ſaid he was but too good a huſband, if it be true that he let Livia get an entire aſcendant over him. Grave hiſtorians aſſure us it was ſo; but if they have no other proof than Tiberius's adoption, it is not concluſive; for what Auguſtus did in that was not from choice, and Livia was leſs conſulted in it than the ſituation of affairs, which would not admit of doing otherwiſe. *Tac. Ann. I. 3.*

His indulgence without weakneſs, towards his freemen and ſlaves. *Suet. Aug. 67.*

He was kind and indulgent towards his freemen and ſlaves, but without any weakneſs towards them; and diſtinguiſhed between pardonable faults and ſuch as it was neceſſary to make an example of. At a hunting match, his intendant or ſteward, who chanced to be next him, ſeeing a wild boar run furiouſly towards them, hid himſelf behind the Emperor, expoſing him to the danger to ſave himſelf. Auguſtus imputed it to fear rather than any bad deſign, and laughed at an adventure in which, though he was in danger, his ſervant was innocent. On the other hand, a ſlave, that he was very fond of, being convicted of adultery with ſome ladies of diſtinction, he condemned him to die without pity. He ordered one of his ſecretary's legs to be broke, becauſe he had taken five hundred denarii to ſhew a letter he was entruſted with. The preceptors and upper ſervants of his ſon Caius Ceſar, having made an ill uſe of the opportunity the illneſs and death of that young prince afforded them, to tyranniſe over the people, Auguſtus ordered the guilty to be thrown into the river with a ſtone tied round their necks.

No

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Protects learning. Suet. Aug. 89.

No one is ignorant to what degree he was a protector of learning, which attained under his reign the highest period the Romans ever carried it to. He thought it a capital duty to encourage talents: writers of a superior merit had a right to claim not only his favour, but his friendship; witness Virgil and Horace. He delighted in going to hear orators, poets and historians, who, according to the custom of those days, rendered their works public, by reciting them before an audience assembled on purpose.

Was himself a man of letters. Suet. 84.

It is not to be wondered at that Augustus favoured learning: he was himself a man of letters: he was perfectly versed in the Sciences of the Greeks, though he was not so far master of their language as to write or speak it without some difficulty. From his youth he had applied himself greatly to the study of eloquence, and all his life was very nice in composing the discourses he was to pronounce either to the army, the senate, or the people. He succeeded in that study, and even Tacitus has praised his [a] eloquence, as becoming an Emperor. What is very singular is, that even the conversations of any importance he was to have, not only with those he saw but seldom, but even with Livia, he wrote down, and read that he might say just what he thought was proper to be said, and neither more nor less. His tone of voice was agreable, probably owing to the natural formation of the organs; but he took care to keep them in due order, having

[a] Augusto prompta ac profluens, quæ deceret Principem, eloquentia fuit. *Tac. Ann.* XIII. 3.

a

a master of pronunciation, from whom he took lessons regularly.

He not only studied and polished what discourses and harangues he was to make relating to business, but was an author too. Suetonius mentions of his writing, *An answer to the character of Cato by Brutus*, *Exhortations to philosophy*, *Memoirs of his own life*, which he carried no lower down than the Cantabrian war. He attempted poetry too; and in Suetonius's time there was a poem of his writing, the subject and title of which was *Sicily*; and a collection of *Epigrams*, most of which he wrote whilst in the bath. He began a Tragedy of *Ajax*, but not pleased with his performance, suppressed it: some [a] of his friends asking him what was become of his Ajax, "My Ajax, "said he, has fallen on a sponge;" alluding to the story of Ajax's falling on his own sword.

Thus we see Augustus did not think it beneath the majesty of empire to become author. He was so far from blushing at it, that he read his Answer to Brutus before a numerous assembly of his friends at his palace; and beginning to be tired with reading, for he was then old, made Tiberius read the rest.

His style was smooth, easy and natural: he avoided all puerile or far-fetch'd thoughts, all affectation in the turn or disposition of his phrases, all words not in general use, and which, if I may be allowed to use his own [b] expression,

His taste for a natural turn and clearness of expression.

[a] Quærentibus amicis, *quidnam Ajax ageret*, respondit, *Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse*.

[b] Reconditorum verborum, ut ipse dicit, fœtoribus.

had

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had a muſty ſmell. His chief ſtudy, and which was ever that of the greateſt maſters of the art of ſpeaking and writing, was perſpicuity. He readily ſacrificed a luxuriance of ſtile to clearneſs of expreſſion, and choſe rather to uſe repetitions, and add prepoſitions where cuſtom generally ſuppreſſed them, than to leave his meaning in the leaſt obſcure or doubtful.

Whatever deviated from nature in any ſhape, hurt the nicety and delicacy of his taſte: and he blamed equally thoſe who, running too much after ornaments and brillancy of ſtile, gave into puns or bombaſt; and thoſe who, falling into the other extreme, were ſtill enamoured with the ruſt of rude antiquity. He was continually rallying the ſoft and effeminate dreſs of Mecænas ſtile, Tiberius's laboured phraſes, and the ſonorous empty pomp of Aſiatic eloquence that Antony was delighted with. Writing to his grand-daughter Agrippina, after praiſing her wit, he adds, "but [b] avoid affectation, "which is always bad and diſpleaſing."

He was weak enough to be ſuperſtitious. *Suet. Aug.* 90. 93.

With ſo much knowledge, and ſuch great qualities, Auguſtus gave into all the ſuperſtitions of the vulgar. I do not ſpeak here of his reſpect for the only religion he was acquainted with: that reſpect, miſtaken as the object of it was, was ſtill preferable to the overt impiety Epicurus's philoſophy had infected the minds of ſo many illuſtrious Romans with. I ſhall not quarrel with him neither for his fear of thunder, ſo great as to hide himſelf in a vault or cellar till the ſtorm was over: that infirmity

[b] Sed opus eſt dare te operam, ne moleſtè ſcribas aut loquaris.

was

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was excuſeable on account of the accident that firſt cauſed it. Travelling one night in Spain, *Suet. Aug.* the thunder fell ſo near his litter, that it killed 29. the ſlave who held the flambeau. But what one can hardly forgive him is, his weakneſs in believing in omens, in lucky and unlucky days, and in dreams. I ſhall mention but one inſtance.

In memory of the accident I have juſt ſpoken of, he built a temple on Mount Capitolinus, and dedicated it to Jupiter the Thunderer: thither he went regularly to pay homage to this god of his own creating. A temple to which the Prince went, was ſoon frequented by the people; and on this occaſion Auguſtus had a dream. He thought he ſaw Jupiter Capitolinus, who complained that his new, but bad neighbour, took off his worſhippers from him, and dreamt he anſwered the uneaſy angry god, that the Thunderer was but his porter. When awake, he recollected this dream, and, to verify it, cauſed little bells to be fixed on the top of the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer; bells being then generally uſed by porters, and put on doors.

So childiſh, ſo unmeaning a piece of devotion, ill became a prince like Auguſtus, who beſides had had a thouſand opportunities of being undeceived, with regard to the pretended miracles of the Pagan prieſts and their falſe deities. Pliny has preſerved a fact curious enough of that kind.

The temple of the goddeſs Anaitis, greatly *Plin. xxxiii.* revered in Armenia, was plundered by the Romans, when Antony made the fraudulent

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conqueſt of that country: the ſtatue of that goddeſs, which was of maſſy gold, was carried off and broken to pieces. A report was ſpread, that the firſt man that had dared to lay his hand on the goddeſs, ſtruck ſuddenly with an apoplexy, inſtantly dropt down dead. A long time after that, Auguſtus being at Bologna, ſupped with an old ſoldier that had left the ſervice, who had had a ſhare of that plunder; and being aſked what truth there was in the report I have mentioned, "Cæſar, "anſwered the ſoldier, it is the Goddeſs "Anaitis's leg you are eating for ſupper to "night, and all I have in the world I owe to "her."

This expreſſion might have carried Auguſtus great lengths, had he been ſo diſpoſed: but religion was in fact the leaſt part of his cares, only ſo far as it was ſubſervient to his policy: and that indifference about the *only* thing truly intereſting, was the foundation of his ſuperſtitious credulity, as it has been of impiety in many others.

Such are the chief outlines by which an idea may be formed of the mind and ſoul of that famous Prince, the reſtorer of peace and good order in Rome, and the whole world; and in that more deſerving our praiſes than Cæſar or Alexander for their warlike qualities and conqueſts. Of all his virtues, prudence, and the extent and ſolidity of his views, hold inconteſtably the firſt rank, and are his chief characteriſtics. But the reader will pleaſe to obſerve, it is Auguſtus I am ſpeaking of, and not Octavius: they are two different men, and

Prudence was his prevailing characteriſtic.

every

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every one knows that famous saying which contains a very just judgment of the whole life of that Prince: "He did so much mischief to the Roman Republic, and to mankind, that he should never have been born; and so much good, that he ought never to have died."

If any one is desirous to know what his person was, he may find a full account of it in Suetonius, from whom I shall borrow only what follows. He was what is generally called a very handsome man, in every stage of his life; but negligent of his person. No affectation, no fondness of dress. He regretted the time it cost to dress his hair, at which several slaves were busied at once, whilst he wrote or read. Mildness and serenity were pictured in his looks; at the same time his eyes were so piercing they dazzled those he looked at. He was pleased, like Alexander, when any one looked down, not to meet his eyes. He was rather short; but so well proportioned that he did not appear little, but by comparison, if a taller man stood next him. I have already said he was of a very tender constitution. What concerns his funeral, will, and apotheosis, belongs to the history of his successor.

His person. *Suet. Aug.* 79.

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